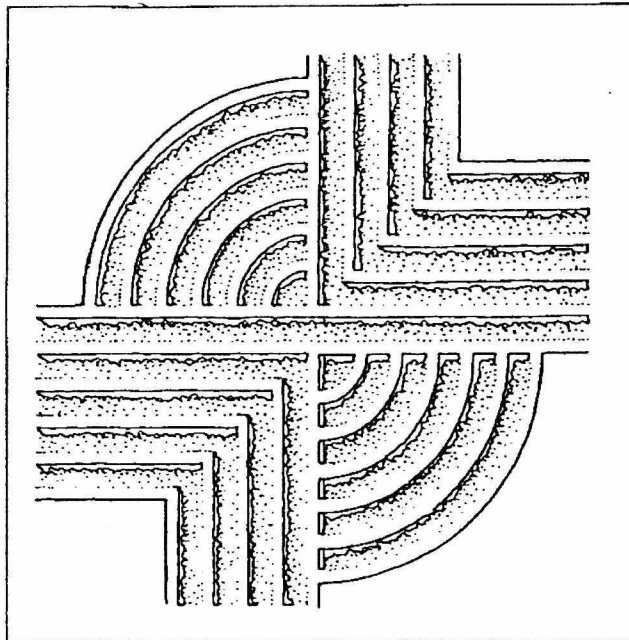


THE ST. JOHN'S BURIAL ASSOCIATION AND THE CATHOLIC  
CEMETERY AT IMMACULATE CONCEPTION,  
CITY OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA:  
WHAT BECAME OF THE REPOSE OF THE DEAD?



CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 146

**THE ST. JOHN'S BURIAL ASSOCIATION AND THE CATHOLIC  
CEMETERY AT IMMACULATE CONCEPTION,  
CITY OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA:  
WHAT BECAME OF THE REPOSE OF THE DEAD?**

Prepared For:  
Father Ted Lewis  
Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church  
106 Line Street  
Charleston, South Carolina 29403

Prepared By:  
Michael Trinkley  
Debi Hacker

Chicora Foundation Research Contribution 146

Chicora Foundation, Inc.  
P.O. Box 8664 ■ 861 Arbutus Drive  
Columbia, South Carolina 29202  
803/787-6910

July 12, 1994

This report is printed in permanent paper ∞

## ABSTRACT

This study explores the history of a tract of land situated in the northeast quadrant of the block in Charleston bounded to the north by Shepard Street, to the east by Coming Street, to the South by Line Street, and the to west by Ashe Avenue. The tract, identified today as Tax Map Number 460-08-01-048, is the property of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Charleston and it is usually described as either 200 Coming Street (the address of the last Catholic church which was located there) or as the southwest corner of Shepard and Coming Streets.

The goal, loosely devised, was to better understand the history of this parcel and particularly to gather information on its supposed use as a Catholic cemetery. Oral history recounted that the property was purchased by a black Catholic burial association, although eventually the property was used by a succession of schools and churches. Most recently, the tract was impacted by the construction of the "Crosstown Connector," or U.S. Highway 17.

Historic research, focusing on the discovery of a chain of title, examination of records in the Charleston Diocesan Archives, and exploration of primary and secondary documents at the South Carolina Historical Society and the South Caroliniana Library, revealed that the history of the tract is more complex than originally thought. The research has been made more complicated by the loss or absence of critical records, such as the Sacramental Register of Burials for the cemetery prior to the late 1880s.

The information presented in this study, although partial, presents a more complete picture of the tract than has been previously available. It outlines areas of additional research. Perhaps most importantly, it also offers a context for the cemetery, its use, and its history.

This study also provides recommendations for the preservation and interpretation of the tract. While today only a vacant lot, with all signs of its previous use as a cemetery wiped out, the property offers an opportunity to better understand the relationship of "traditional" churches to black parishioners and the lives of black Charlestonians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	iv
Introduction	1
Background and Goals	
Archival Methods	
History of the Tract	8
Title and Historical Information	
The Known Burials	
The Context of Catholics in Charleston	
A Broader Regional Context	
Significance	30
National Register of Historic Places	
State Law	
A Preservation Plan	33
Sources Cited	39
Appendix 1. Individuals burried at St. John's Cemetery	41



## LIST OF FIGURES

### Figure

1.	View of the study area, looking north toward the Crosstown	2
2.	Portion of the USGS Charleston topographic map showing the study tract	3
3.	Charleston tax map showing the study tract	4
4.	View of the markers associated with Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church	7
5.	Marble fragments in dirt road	7
6.	1840 plat showing Alexander Black's original lots	9
7.	The first Immaculate Conception Church, built in 1880	11
8.	1849 map of the south side of Charleston	11
9.	1872 Drie aerial view of Charleston	12
10.	1913 plat showing the Catholic Burial Ground	14
11.	The original lot lines, the various cemeteries, and the modern lot lines	15
12.	The second Immaculate Conception Church, built in 1923	16
13.	1942 Sanborn Insurance Map showing the church and cemetery	17
14.	Location of soil borings taken in 1964	19
15.	Burials by month	20
16.	Mean death age by year	22
17.	Trend analysis of mean death age by year	22

## LIST OF TABLES

### Table

1.	Markers along the east wall of Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church	5
2.	Markers in the yard area between the church and rectory	5
3.	A sample of individuals identified in the City Directories from the cemetery	23

## INTRODUCTION

### Background and Goals

Chicora Foundation was approached in early June by the rector of Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina and asked what historical records might exist for a cemetery adjacent to and behind his church at 106 Line Street, in what is called the "Neck Area" of Charleston. This particular tract of land has been the focus of considerable attention, with the owner, the Catholic Bishop of Charleston, apparently interested in disposing of the land, perhaps for development of low income housing in conjunction with the City of Charleston. The Episcopal Church has proposed, alternatively, to purchase the property and make it a park. Negotiations between the two churches are currently in progress and the Episcopal Church was interested in better understanding the history of the parcel -- how it was originally acquired by the Catholic Church, what it was used for, and how it came to be essentially abandoned.

The "corporate memory" of the neighborhood has been unfortunately shattered by urban pressures, including the construction of the "Crosstown Connector" by the South Carolina Highway Department in the late 1960s. While there is some oral history concerning this property, it is scattered, of variable accuracy, and (most regrettably) not collected in any systematic fashion. Consequently, there were stories of the property being obtained by a Catholic layman's benevolent society for the burial of free and slave black Catholics, of being the site of several churches, and having monuments until relatively recently, but there was little documentation against which to compare these accounts.

On June 17 Father Ted Lewis, Jr., Rector of the Calvary Episcopal Church contacted Chicora on behalf of The Reverend Canon Michael Malone, Diocese of South Carolina, and requested that we begin historical research on the tract. Our efforts, of course, were limited by available funding, and we chose to emphasize readily accessible records most likely to provide immediate, and accurate, information. Consequently, this study should be understood to represent a *preliminary* historical assessment and not a complete historical account. Undoubtedly additional information, perhaps quite significant, exists. Elsewhere in this document we have suggested areas of future research. At present, however, we have been able to address a number of issues concerning the tract, its use through time, and its potential significance both to South Carolina and to the black community.

A second goal of this research was to explore preservation and interpretation issues associated with the cemetery. Since the Episcopal Church proposed to use the land as a park, there was interest in how this might be accomplished without damaging the historical significance and integrity of the property. There was also interest in exploring how its history might be commemorated, with the goal of uniting the black community, regardless of religion. To achieve this goal we have attempted to present the cemetery within a historical context -- providing enough information to allow the cemetery's history to be understood in the context of black/white relations in Charleston, as well as in the context of black/white Catholic attitudes and religious trends. We have tried to present the cemetery and explain its role in relationship to broad historic trends, relating it to general themes.

Historians recognize that cemeteries serve as a primary means of an individual's recognition of family history and as expressions of collective religious and/or ethnic identity. Often cemeteries may embody values transcending personal or family-specific emotions, allowing us to better understand the lives of those buried there. This seems to be particularly true of the black community

in the Neck area of Charleston since there are so few properties (outside of individual houses) associated with that group. The significance of this cemetery is further explored in the discussion of its historic context.

### Current Setting

The study tract, whose legal description is known as the southwest corner of Shepard and Coming Street, or 200 Coming Street, is identified on the tax rolls as parcel 460-08-01-048. Today it is a rather abandoned looking lot situated behind (north) and to the northwest of Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church at 106 Line Street (Figures 1, 2 and 3).

The cemetery is situated within Charleston Flood Zone B, above the 12 feet mean sea level flood level. The topography is generally level, although there appears to be a slight rise in elevations from north to south, marking the southern boundary of the property and perhaps representing discard and soil build-up at the property line. Soils in the vicinity are typically the deep, moderately well drained Seabrook Series (Miller 1971). These soils have a dark grayish brown A horizon to a depth of about 0.8 foot, overlying a dark brown to brownish-yellow sand. Infiltration and permeability are usually rapid, although they may be impeded by a high seasonal water table. At the time of the field visit, portions of the property were standing under 0.1 to 0.2 foot of water, the likely result of several days of intense rain. It is also possible that at least portions of the tract represent the Rutledge soils. These soils tend to be poorly drained with relatively high water table over most of the year. The study tract contains little vegetation apart from that growing up at the edge of property along U.S. 17 and adjacent lots. Elsewhere the tract is characterized by grass and weeds.



Figure 1. View of the study area, looking north toward U.S. 17 Crosstown.

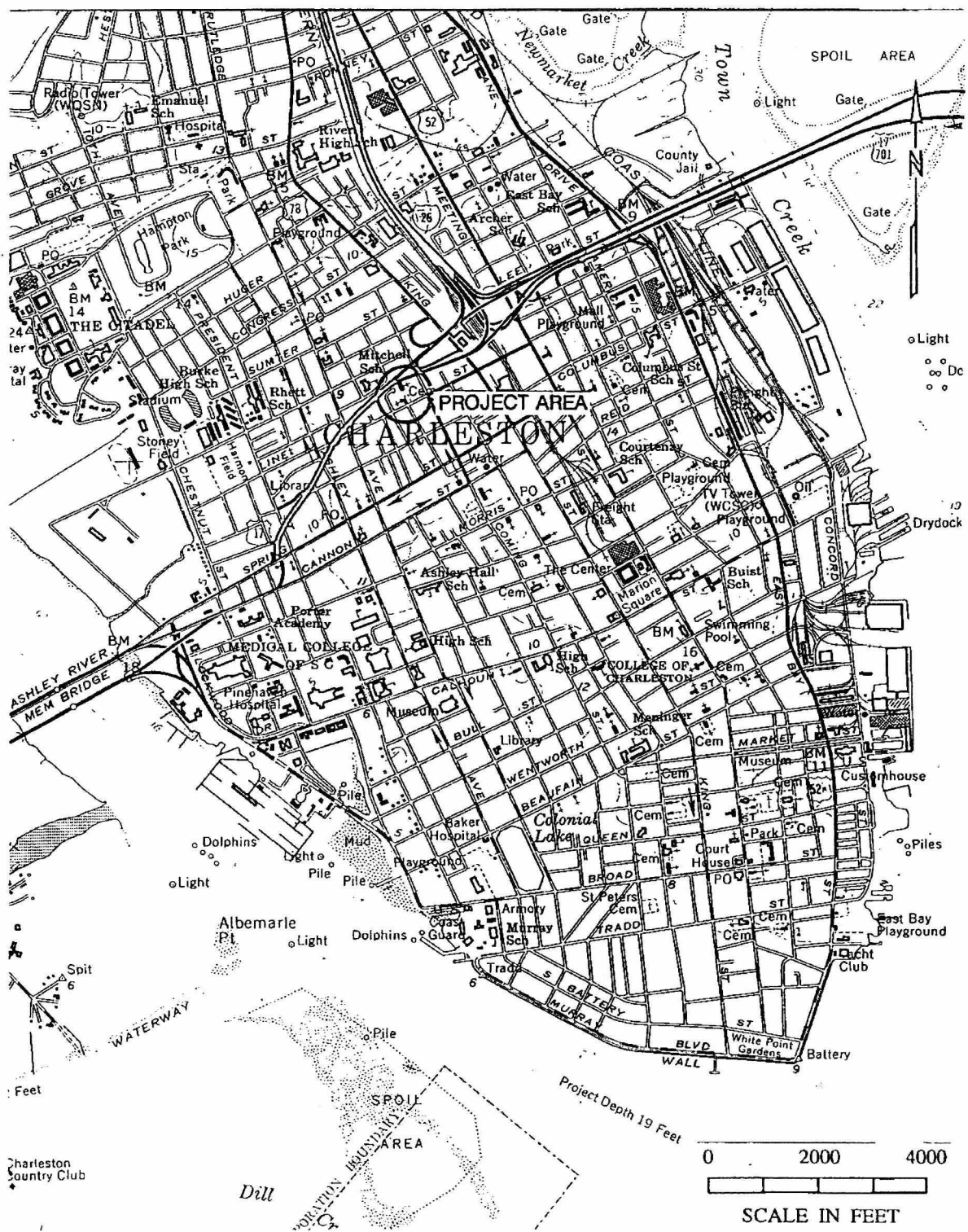


Figure 2. A portion of the U.S.G.S. Charleston 7.5' topographic map showing the study tract.

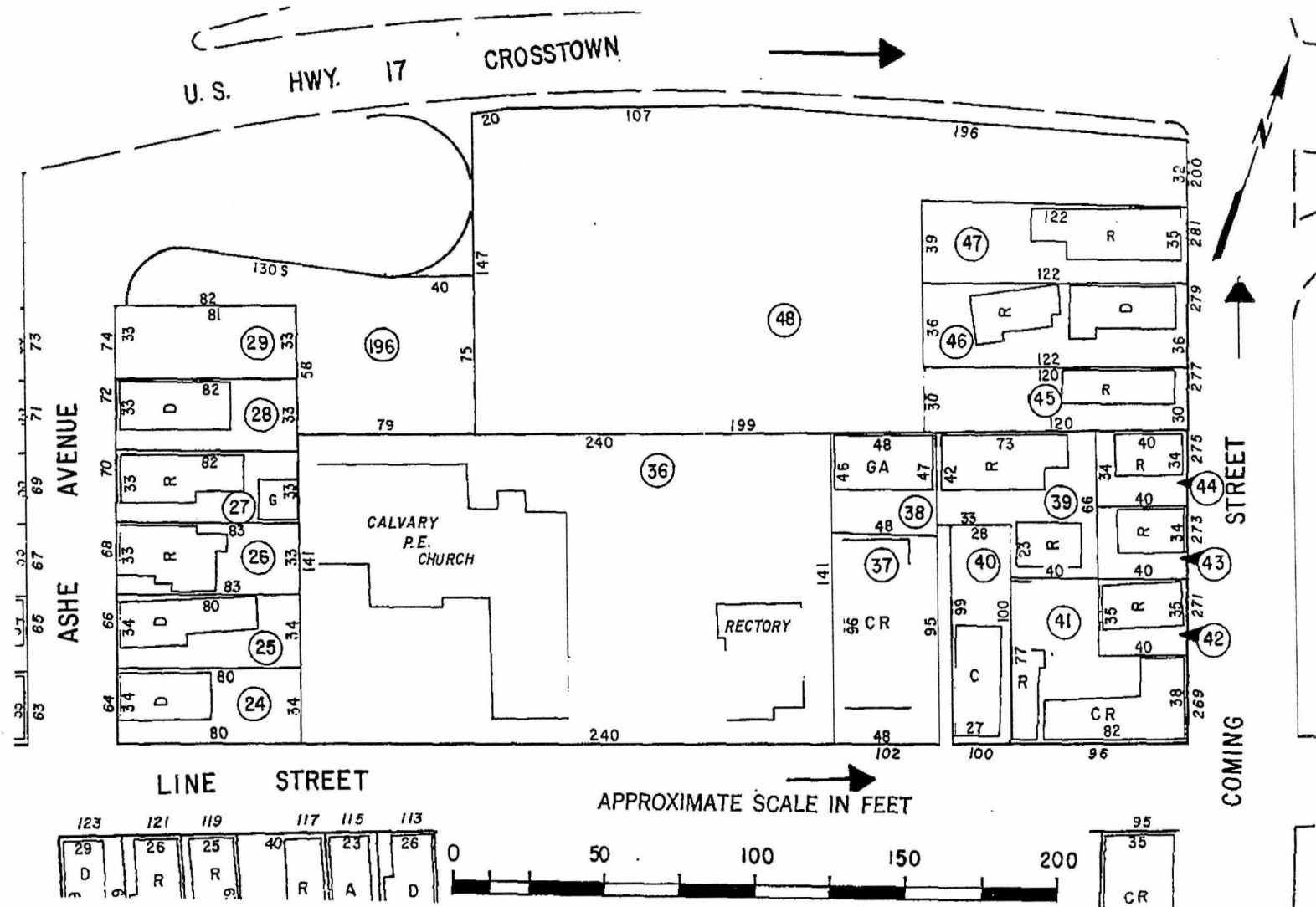


Figure 3. City of Charleston Tax Map 460-8-1 showing the study area.

Besides the adjoining wood frame houses, the most noticeable structure in the immediate area is the Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church which consists of the church building and attached classrooms, as well as a separate rectory. A number of stone markers are lined up along the east side of the church building and several markers are found in the grassed area between the church building and the rectory. These are summarized in Tables 1 and 2. It appears, based on their placement (many

Table 1.  
Markers Found Along the Exterior East Wall of  
Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Death</u>
Harry Scriven	3/26/1880
Ester Forrest (wife of Rev. E.A. Forrest) and 10 children	11/1870
Samuel Bowls	4/1/1913
Washington Deas (C.O.G. 128 USC 1)	
Phoebe Ann Roper (infant daughter of Julius & Mary Ann Roper) and Augustus	4/24/1859 5/17/1860
Philip Hayward	1/8/1929
Emma Johnson	6/26/1913
J. McPherson Wheaton	10/31/1902
Mattie S. Brown (daughter of Isabella Brown)	9/16/1897
Augusta Flynn	3/25/1909

Table 2.  
Markers Found Between Calvary Church and Rectory

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Death</u>
Frances Lewis	9/23/1918
Henrietta Campbell	11/15/1910
Addie Morse	7/27/1917
Oliver Gurney Dunton	11/28/1900

headstones are associated with an adjacent footstone, also placed against the church wall) and mounting (most of the stones are set in a very hard concrete) that these stones have been moved from elsewhere and placed in their current location (Figure 4). It seems unlikely that they are in their original locations. Those in the "yard" area between the church and the rectory are apparently in their original location, based on associated grave depressions. All of the stones are in need on conservation treatments. A number of stone fragments were found, either scattered in the yard or stacked up in various locations.

An archaeological examination of the property was not the goal of this study. However, even this brief pedestrian reconnaissance revealed cultural remains consisting of ceramics (pearlware and whiteware), bottle glass ("black," aqua, and manganese), brick rubble (relatively dense along the south lot line), and marble fragments (noted in the dirt access road, see Figure 5). Although nothing approaching a detailed physical investigation was conducted, no immediate signs of grave depressions or above ground markers were identified on the study tract.





Figure 4. Stone markers lined against east wall of Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church and in yard area.



Figure 5. Marble fragments in dirt road on study tract.

### **Archival Methods**

The research for this project was conducted at the Roman Catholic Charleston Diocese Archives, St. Patrick's Catholic Church, the Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance, the South Carolina Historical Society, and the South Caroliniana Library. Phone consultations were held with St. Mary's Catholic Church and the City of Charleston Archives. All of the work was conducted between June 20 and July 11, 1994.



## HISTORY OF THE TRACT

### Title and Historical Information

On November 13, 1823 Joseph Johnson, the attorney for the Commissioners of Cross Roads sold:

all that lot, piece, and parcel of ground known in the plat of the lines made by Capt. Sobieski as lot (No. 16) number 16 - also the lot known in the same Plat as (17) seventeen also the lot known in this same plat as (18) Eighteen also the lot Known in the same plat as (19) nineteenth situated lying and being in St. Philips on the Neck on the south side of Sheppard and west side of Comming Streets and north side of Line Street

to Alexander Black, a Charleston merchant (Charleston County RMC, Deed Book E11, page 216; see also Charleston County RMC, Deed Book G11, page 93). The property sold to Black was a portion of the 1812 defensive line constructed along present-day Line Street, just below U.S. 17. Zierden and Calhoun note that:

several plats show portions of this fortification (McCrady Plates 6949; 6957; 7634; 7567; 8123; 4160; 7673; Bridges and Allen 1852). Plats of the entire fortification were located and are on file at The Charleston Museum (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:65).<sup>1</sup>

Black is a poorly known individual, apparently not figuring especially prominently in Charleston's commercial landscape. For example, he is referenced only once in The Charleston Museum's examination of newspaper accounts between 1803 and 1860 -- in 1825 he was found advertising the sale of red cedar at the corner of Gadsden's Alley (Calhoun and Zierden 1984:n.p.). In 1859 an Alexander Black paid \$157.50 in tax on real estate valued at \$10,500 and \$6.00 in tax for two slaves (Anonymous 1860).

Black apparently held the property for upwards of 20 years, before having the block subdivided into 20 lots by Robert K. Payne in June 1840 (Figure 6). Apparently the first sale was Lot J, sold on April 3, 1839 to Thomas Gadsden, Trustee for Mary Campbell. Lots K and L were sold on May 13, 1840 and Lot S was sold on June 15, 1840 to William Miller, Trustee for Susan Mathews. Lot R was sold the next year, also to William Miller in trust for Susan Mathews (Charleston County RMC, Deed Book E, page 294). Lots E, F, G, H, and I were sold in 1844 to William B. Yates, T.W. Howell and William P. Lea (Charleston County RMC, Deed Book M11, page 503). Lots C and D were sold to the vestry and wardens of St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church (Charleston County RMC, Deed Book M11, page 545), while lot B was sold on January 1, 1845 to St. Peter's Church (Charleston

---

<sup>1</sup> Zierden and Calhoun also note that "except for portions impacted by construction of Highway 17, much of the 1812 fortifications should be intact. Any construction activity in the vicinity of Line Street should be monitored for evidence of these fortifications" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:65). The identification of this line would not only be of historical interest, it may be able to address research questions regarding its construction and use during its relatively short period of importance.

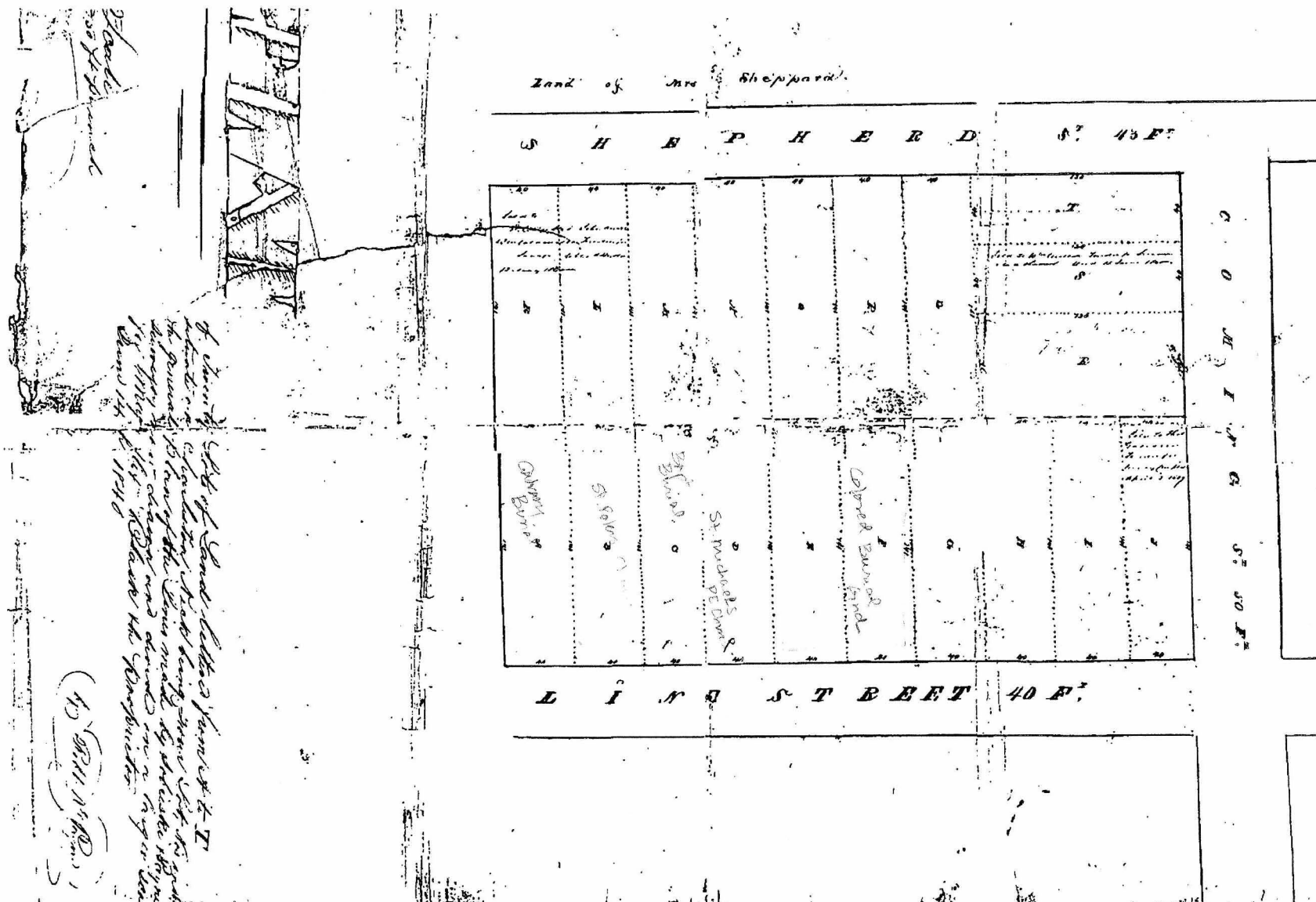


Figure 6. Payne's plat of Alexander Black's 20 lots bounded by Shepard, Coming, and Line (Charleston RMC, Deed Book E11, page 294).

County RMC, Deed Book M11, page 537). The pattern of sales indicates that the original purchase by Black was speculative and the sales were to individuals or groups interested in expanding their holdings in this new area of Charleston.

One of Black's sales was of six lots to The Very Reverend Richard S. Baker, Administrator of the Diocese of Charleston<sup>2</sup> on July 12, 1843 for a total of \$650 (Charleston County RMC, Deed Book N11, page 129). A mortgage on the property was held by Black until the sell amount was fully paid on April 3, 1848 (Charleston County RMC, Deed Book M11, page 75). The tracts sold were described as:

Lots of land lying and being on that part of Charleston Neck formerly called the Lines . . . those five several Lots situated on Sheppard Street, Charleston Neck, each being forty feet front on the said Street by one hundred and forty one feet in depth and that certain other Lot, situate at the corner of Sheppard and Coming Street, being forty feet in width on said last mentioned street by one hundred and twenty feet in depth on said Sheppard Street which said Lots are designed on a certain plat hereto attached<sup>3</sup> and forming a part of this deed by the letters M, N, O, P, Q, and T.

The deed further stipulates that the property is being held *in trust* by Father Baker:

to convey the said premises to the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Charleston his heirs and successors in office in Trust for the use of the colored Roman Catholic population of the City of Charleston and Charleston Neck, as a cemetery or Burial ground for the said Colored Slaves or free under such regulations as to the use and enjoyment of the same for the purpose aforesaid, as the said Roman Catholic Bishop of Charleston and his successors in office may from time to time prescribe and establish (Charleston County RMC, Deed Book N11, page 130).

Comparison of Figure 6 (the 1840 plat) with Figure 2 (the modern tax map of the property) reveals relatively few changes in the intervening 150 years. The Catholic Church still owns Lots M, N, O, P, Q, and T (minus the amount lost to the Crosstown). Lot R has been subdivided, to form two lots today. Lot J has likewise been subdivided to create several additional lots. The lots (B, C, and D) originally sold to St. Michael's and St. Peter's form the nucleus of the property owned by Calvary Church today. The continued evolution of these lots, however, can be better understood as the history of the Catholic property progresses.

Between the purchase of the lot in 1843 and the dedication of the Immaculate Conception church at the corner of Shepard and Coming Street in 1880 (Figure 7), little is known about the tract. An 1849 map of this portion of Charleston ("A Map of the South Side, Charleston Harbor," U.S. Coast Survey) reveals that portions of the 1812 defensive works were still present, appearing to be concentrated north of the central east-west line through Black's original tract (Figure 8). While lots are apparently laid in to the south, there are no buildings. Nor is there any evidence of use on the parcels sold to the Catholic Church. A similar map, prepared 1857-1858, reveals that the defensive works are no longer present. While the block to the west (Shepard, St. Philips, Line, and Coming) is

---

<sup>2</sup> The lots were sold to Father Baker, rather than to the Bishop of Charleston, "the See being vacant" at the time.

<sup>3</sup> The plat is not attached to this deed, although it is filed in Deed Book E11, page 294. The original deed and plat are held by the Charleston Diocese in their archives (Box 400-I). Comparison with the plat filed at the RMC yields no substantive differences.



Figure 7. The first Immaculate Conception Church at the corner of Shepard and Coming streets, built in 1880. This photograph shows a rear addition and likely dates from the 1930s.

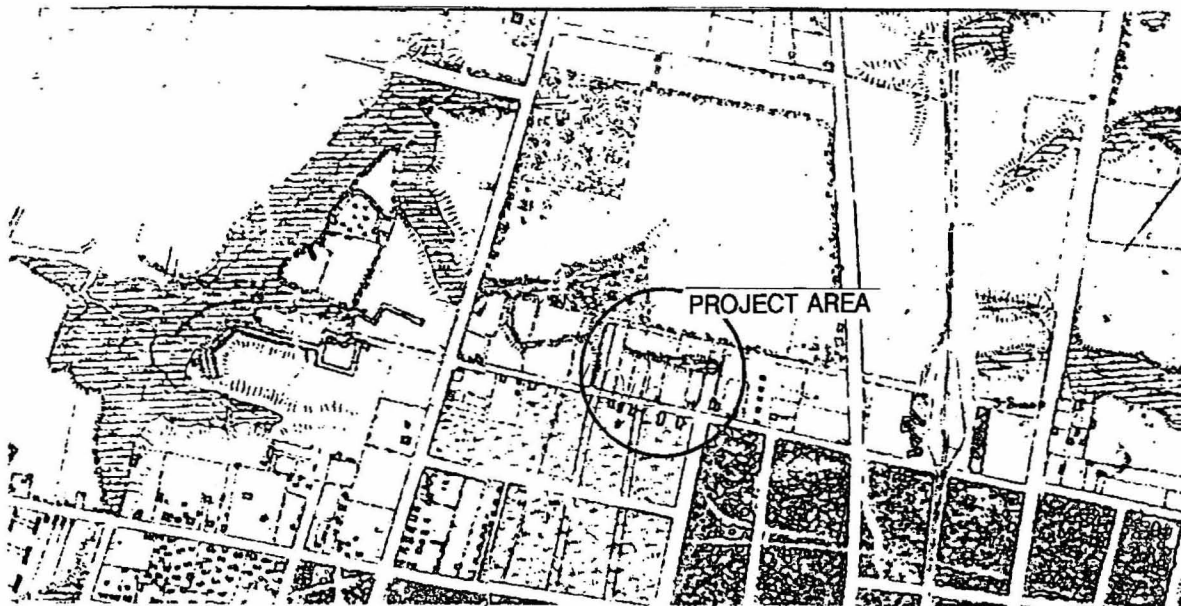


Figure 8. A portion of the 1849 "A Map of the South Side, Charleston Harbor," U.S. Coast Survey, showing the location of Line, Shepard, and Coming streets, as well as the remnants of the 1812 defensive works and the Catholic cemetery.

being rapidly developed, as is a tract to the west (Nunan, Killians, Line, and President) the study tract appears vacant, at least of structures. Curiously, the 1872 Drie "Bird's Eye View of the City of Charleston" reveals that the lot at the corner of Coming and Shepard contains a small structure, although the major portion of the cemetery is vacant (Figure 9). While this map is presumed to be accurate and may indicate a building earlier than previously thought, it may also be an error.

While it seems likely that the property was used for its intended purpose, we have been able to identify no church records or parish records which clearly document any burial during this period. The church itself, however, is well documented. The Charleston Diocesan Archives (Box 601.23) does reveal a typescript list of names identified as "A LIST OF THOSE BURIED AT St. John's Burial Plots for Colored Catholics," which we have been able to identify as being derived from the Sacramental Register of Deaths for St. Peter's Church, today housed at St. Patrick's Catholic Church. Information supplied by one of the parishioners indicated that an earlier death register, once present, had been lost within the last decade. This now lost register almost certainly contained the names of Charleston African American Catholics buried on the study tract. Comparison of the typescript list and the original volume reveals a few, relatively minor mistakes, as well as a few individuals which were accidentally dropped during the transcription. Appendix 1 is a compilation of the typescript list with spot checked corrections and additions.

The frame church, according to the information in the Diocesan Archives was used until September 1904, at which time the church was converted to a school, known as the Immaculate Conception School. A 1913 plat of the church property, shown here as Figure 10, reveals that the boundaries have not appreciable changed, although there were apparently some minor disputes concerning a few of the lines. The plat shows the church building's position and the large area to the west and southwest, composed of the original five lots M, N, O, P, and Q are labeled "Burial Ground (Catholic)." South of the church, the surveyor identified that Ellen Hogan et al. were the owners of



Figure 9. Portion of the 1872 Drie aerial view of Charleston showing the study tract.



Lot S, Mary Hogan was the owner of the northern portion of Lot R and Mary J. Richter was the owner of the southern half of Lot R. West of the cemetery, Lot L was owned by J.F. Kirkland. Perhaps of more interest are the owners of the lots south of the Catholic cemetery. Lot G, at the eastern edge of the cemetery was owned by Local Union Society #52. Lots E and F to the west were labeled only as "Colored Burial Ground." Lots C and D were labeled "Baptist Burial Ground," and Lots A and B were labeled "Calvary Burial Ground." When this 1913 plat is compared to Figure 3 it is clear that parcels 37 and 38 have been built on what was the Local Union hall. Parcel 36 today encompasses a series of three earlier cemeteries -- the rectory is built over the "Colored Burial Ground," the central open yard and a portion of the Calvary Church are the "Baptist Burial Ground," and the school portion of the Calvary Church is built over the "Calvary Burial Ground." Figure 11 shows the original lot lines, the various cemeteries, and the modern parcels for comparison.

The Annual Report of St. Peter's Church in 1917 reported that, "a new church is needed in the N. West section of the city -- the majority of the colored Catholics live in that section now." This need for a new church resulted in a group calling themselves the "St. John's Burial Association" preparing a deed in 1918 donating a lot 150 by 70 feet for a new church. The unincorporated association was apparently made up of "elders" who were responsible for the maintenance of the Catholic cemetery. When the name was adopted could not be identified in this research, although it is clear that at least the property itself was being called St. John's Cemetery at least as early as 1883, based on the death register still surviving at St. Patrick's.

The deed is simple:

We the undersigned members of the St. John's Burial Association do hereby join in, ratify, and confirm the conveyance of the property on the south side of Shepard Street measuring one hundred and fifty feet in length and seventy feet in breadth, and owned by said association, to the Bishop of Charleston, a corporation sole (Charleston Diocesan Records, Box 400-I).

The signers were Julius L. Martin, Secretary; R.G. Holmes, President; Mrs. J.P. [Joseph Paul] Guenveur; Eloruse [?] Doar; Mrs. A. Melfi; Joseph B. Smith; Mrs. Marie Hansen; Miss Elizabeth Brown (per J.L.Q.); William H. Deas; Henry Cornell [?]; E.L. Guenveur; and F.L. Horsey.

This offer of property apparently marks the first time that the St. John's Burial Association found its way into the official Diocesan records. In late 1919 the Bishop apparently wrote his counsel at Miller, Huger, Wilber and Miller asking, basically, if the deed was sound and legally binding. While unfortunately only the reply is preserved in the archives, it seems clear that the Bishop was concerned that use of the land for a church would void Black's original deed, since it specified that the land would be held in trust for the sole purpose of burials. He was also concerned that the Association might not have the authority to devise the property to the Church. Curiously, the question was not raised as to how the Association "acquired" the property or, at least, acquired an interest in the tract. The response from W.C. Miller, Esq., dated January 30, 1920 to the Right Reverend William T. Russel noted that he had:

been informed by Father May that the site of the [proposed] chapel has already been used for the interment of bodies and that the erection of a chapel will in no way defeat the object of the trust.

In other words, the property has already been used for the purpose stipulated by the original deed, at least legally freeing its use for other purposes. Miller also noted that the property was conveyed originally to Father Baker and he could find no evidence that Baker had ever prepared a deed conveying the tract to the Bishop. This, however, seemed to be little more than a technicality and was



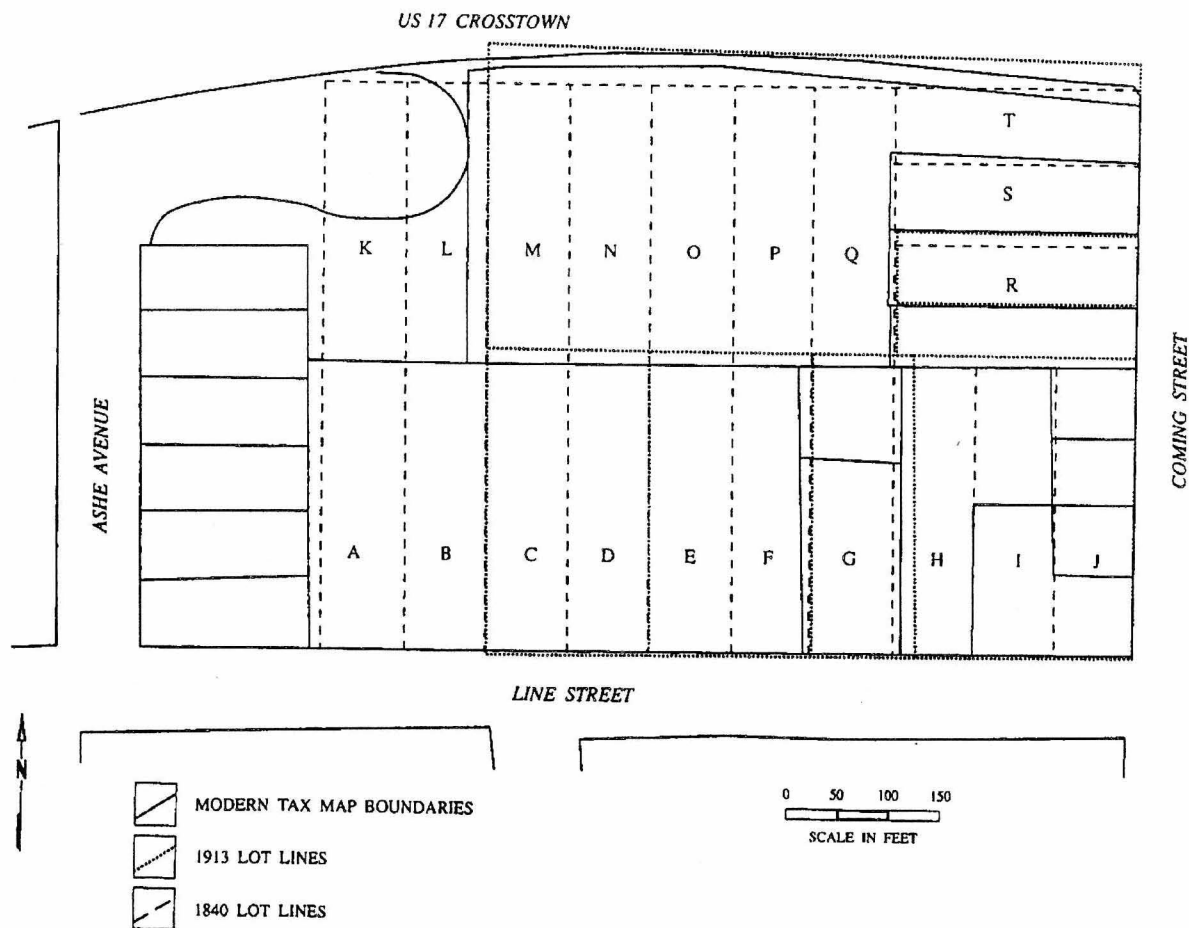


Figure 11. Comparison of the original lot lines, lines on the 1913 plat, and the modern tax lines.



dismissed. Miller did recommend that the Bishop have the Association sign a somewhat clearer deed over to the Church, especially since they were an unincorporated body.

Consequently, on May 14, 1920 a second deed was prepared. It noted that the "St. John's Burial Association have for years been using the said parcel of land as a burial ground for colored Catholics" and also specified that the new church was "to be erected as not to disturb the bodies interred thereunder." It was signed by R.J. Holmes, Julius S. Martin, William H. Deas, Joseph B. Smith, John P. Middleton, H.J. Duffus, J.P. Guenveur, E.L. Guenveur, S.E. Daignan [?], E.H. Doar, T.A. Doar, and F.L. Horsey. Names on the first deed, missing on the second, include Eloruse [?] Doar, Mrs. A. Melfi, Mrs. Marie Hansen, Miss Elizabeth Brown, and Henry Cornell [?]. Names appearing for the first time on the 1920 deed include John P. Middleton, H.J. Duffus, S.E. Daignan [?], E. H. Doar, and T.A. Doar. These changes suggest that the signers were not all of the members, but as suggested earlier, simply represented the "elders" or perhaps even elected representatives.

Regardless, with the second deed the Bishop was free to begin the planning for a new church and by 1923 a brick structure has been built at 115 Shepard Street. Between 1917 and 1923, however, the Church had changed its mind and decided that additional school space was need. Consequently, the new building, along with the original wood frame structure on Coming Street, was used as a school. In 1927 an additional wood frame structure was built behind the brick church for additional class room space. In 1928 the school was finally dedicated as a church by Bishop Walsh (Figure 12).

A 1942 Sanborn Insurance Map (the earliest identified which was available for copying) illustrates the Immaculate Conception Church, the Immaculate Conception Hall, and the intervening "cemetery" (Figure 13). By this time the original structure, at the corner of Shepard and Coming streets, has been enlarged through the addition of a rear, one story building which stretches from Shepard Street to the southern lot line. A 1902 Sanborn Insurance Map updated through 1934



Figure 12. Immaculate Conception church built in 1923 at 115 Shepard Street.



(identified at the South Carolina Historical Society) shows the location of the classrooms built in 1927. This structure measured about 70 by 25 feet and was situated about eight feet north of the rear or southern lot line. The western edge of the building was situated about 90 feet east of the western property boundary (the classrooms were not situated directly behind the church, instead they were approximately centered on the lot). Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church and the associated rectory are first seen built over the cemeteries south of the Catholic cemetery on a Sanborn Map showing additions between 1944 and 1955 (South Carolina Historical Society). At least by this date the classrooms built at the rear of the church had been razed.

By the early 1950s there appears to be some evidence that the Church desired to consolidate its holding, at least in this part of Charleston. An effort was made to find a buyer for the tract at the corner of Shepard and Coming, but the original Immaculate Conception church had become so dilapidated that the Diocese could find no buyer for the property. In 1952 the Diocese let a contract to Herbert Mack to raze the building, leaving the corner vacant. Efforts continued, apparently unsuccessfully, to identify a buyer for the property.

In the early 1960s what is today known as the "Crosstown" was being planned and in 1964 Soil Consultants, Inc. performed a series of 66 six-inch soil borings (Figure 14) in the proposed right-of-way on the Church property at the intersection of Shepard and Coming streets "in order to determine whether or not the area had been used as a cemetery in the years past" (letter from William Kenneth Johnson, President of Soil Consultants, Inc. to Mr. Max Hill, Jr., Real Estate Agent, dated July 21, 1964). The study concluded:

No evidence of any burials were (sic) encountered. Neighbors in the area did not recall the area ever being used for burials and the priest at the Catholic Church nearby stated that he knew of no burials.

It seems unlikely, based on our knowledge of burials, organic preservation, and how soil borings are made, that this process would have discovered any skeletal remains or recognizable coffin fragments. It also suggests that by the mid-1960s the corporate memory of both the local parish and the neighborhood had declined.

On September 22, 1967 both Immaculate Conception and St. Peter's churches were closed, the parish functions being transferred to St. Patrick's. While no documentary evidence was encountered in this study, we understand that Immaculate Conception was closed primarily as a result of the change in traffic patterns caused by the construction of the Crosstown. A fire on February 19, 1974 caused extensive damage to Immaculate Conception and the building was demolished between late February and April 1974. The Diocesan files suggest at least one controversy arose after the church was closed, burned, and was eventually demolished. An individual claiming a relationship to Joseph P. and Harry A. Guenveur claimed that these individuals' stones were placed as plaques on the wall of the church and wanted to know why they were removed. Apparently no one associated with the Church remembered the plaques and the files contain no reference to the eventual disposition of the issue.

A plat prepared in December 1976 suggests that the Diocese continued to seek a purchaser for the property. While the plat provides no real additional information, it is curious that it contains no mention of a cemetery or that burials were present under the 0.78 acres of property.

### The Known Burials

Appendix 1 lists those individuals known to be buried on the 0.78 acre site during the 48 years between 1883 and 1930. As discussed, it is almost certain that at least one additional death register,

BY: W. J. H. H. DATE: 1/10/87 SUBJECT: UPPER 1/2 SECTION 17, T. 17 N., R. 17 E., S. 17 E. SHEET NO. 1  
 CHKD BY: W. J. H. H. DATE: 1/10/87 Coming & Sheppard St., Charleston, SC JOB NO. 20647  
Soil Consultants, Inc. Auger Boring Locations Scale: 1" = 20 FT

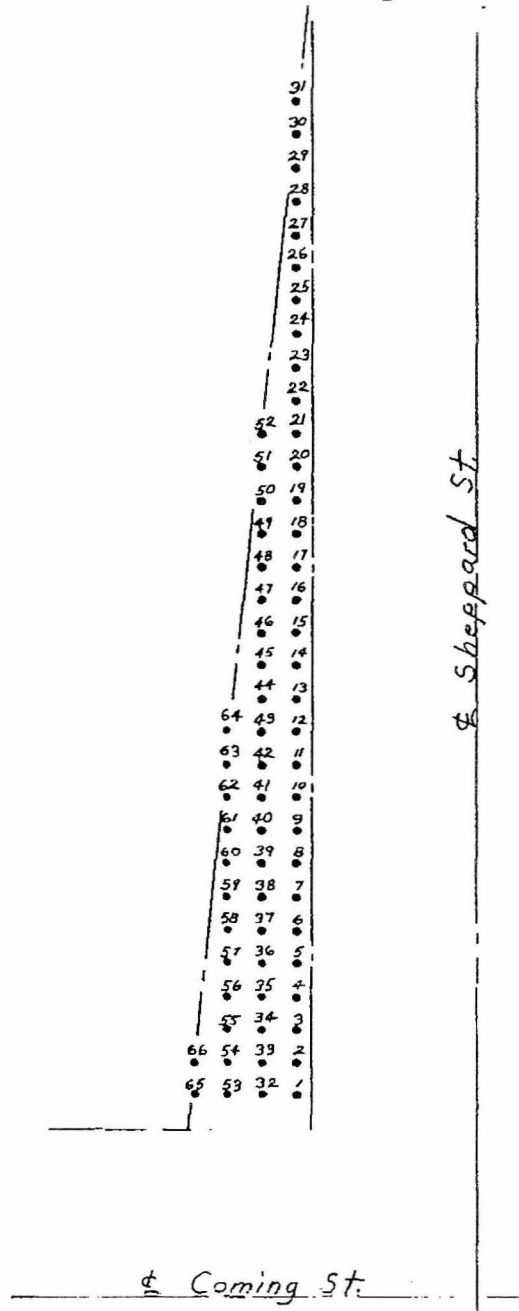


Figure 14. Location of soil borings taken in an effort to identify burials prior to the construction of the Crosstown.

covering the 40 years between 1843 and 1882, was lost after its transfer to St. Patrick's in the late 1960s. This is a most tragic and unfortunate loss, since it would have documented the cemetery's use by both free and slave black Catholics during the late antebellum period. Its loss leaves many questions unanswered -- how many burials were there during this period, how were Catholic slaves enumerated, what was the proportion of slave to free Catholics using this tract, what were the occupations of the free black Catholics, what neighborhoods did the cemetery serve?

In terms of numbers we can make a guess, based on the information provided in the surviving register. The surviving documentation reveals 383 burials over the 48 year period, ranging from a high of 14 per year to a low of only 1 (excluding 1926 when no burials were recorded). They yield an arithmetic mean of 6.2 burials per year and a sample standard deviation of 3.36. Consequently, we may suggest that the 40 year period for which we have no data contributed an additional 248 individuals. This number, while statistically justifiable, seems low. As will be discussed below, there is evidence that the use of the cemetery declined overtime, with the early years (perhaps from 1883 through 1892) being more representative. During this period the mean number of burials was 7.7, yielding a 40 year total of perhaps 308. If the first three years (1883-1885) are taken as the average, then the 40 year total for which we have no data may be as high as 533. Using these three different means the cemetery may contain anywhere from 631 to 916 individuals.

Just as it is impossible to determine the number of individuals buried at this cemetery, it is equally problematical to speculate on the number of spaces. The original property contained approximately 34,848 square feet. Allowing 30 square feet per burial (a fairly common average used in the nineteenth century), this suggests that the ground could have contained as many as 1,162 individuals. Yet, in reality we know that it could have contained far more. The *Report of the Committee of City Council of Charleston on Burial Grounds and City Interments* in 1859 reported that:

the time within which a body and coffin become so decayed that the same place may be used for another interment is three (3) years . . . . Now, it is manifest that if we have ground enough for ten years ahead of us, we have enough for any number of periods of ten years, even to one thousand.

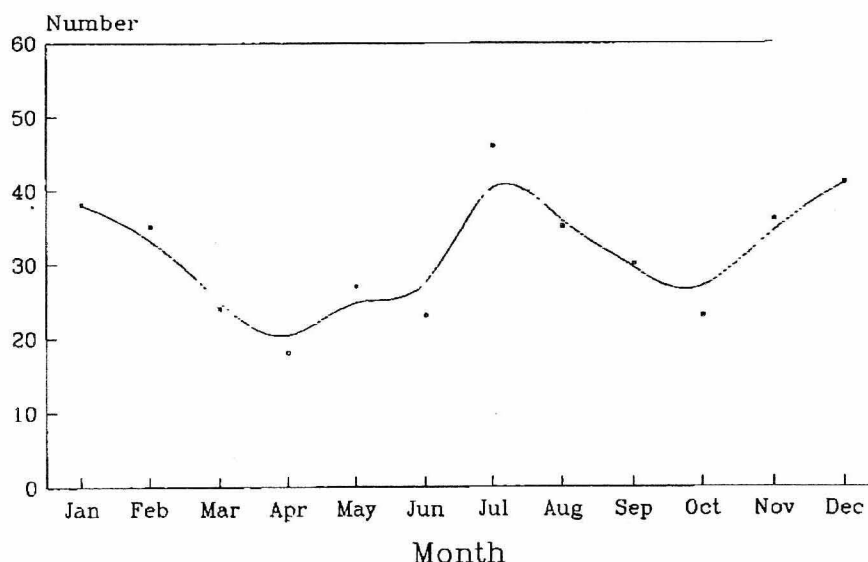


Figure 15. Deaths by month from 1883 through 1930.

While not advocating this approach, the report was pointing out that Charleston's cemeteries -- of all denominations -- followed the practice of allowing bodies to be placed anywhere there was not a vault or flat slab. This resulted in previous burials often being disturbed, bones moved aside, or simply being cast off, in order to place new coffins in sacred ground. While this belief that a cemetery is never full has often been attributed to black (often rural) beliefs, it is clearly and firmly rooted in the needs of the nineteenth century urban white population.

Examining the death information we have, it is possible to reconstruct some basic information regarding the African Americans who used this tract. For example, Figure 15 illustrates the number of deaths by month, revealing peaks in the summer and winter, with relatively low mortality rates in the milder spring and fall seasons. Rosengarten et al. note that "epidemics . . . periodically scourged the city" with the diseases being attributed to "bad air" and "stagnant water" (Rosengarten et al. 1987:98). The real vectors of bacteria and mosquitoes went unrecognized for years and the "pestilence" of the urban setting continued into the early twentieth century. In 1905 Charleston's Health Officer complained about the many privies still in use, describing them as, "nasty and obnoxious in the extreme" (City Yearbook 1905). Even as late as the 1912 outbreak of typhoid fever, the greatest number of cases occurred above Broad Street and the Health Officer linked this to the number of privies still in use. In 1918 the Health Officer complained that efforts to install the city-wide sewer system were hindered on the Neck by the alley ways which were too narrow to accommodate the necessary pipes (City Yearbook 1918).

As the register of deaths is superficially examined, it seems that the population using the cemetery increased in age through time. In other words, fewer children and more elderly individuals were using St. John's. In fact, when the mean death age by year is examined for the cemetery, it is clear that there are many fluctuations -- likely the result of the small sample size, epidemics which periodically attached either the elderly or the young, and other factors not recognized at present (Figure 16). However, when the statistical trend is examined (Figure 17), it becomes clear that the mean death age slowly increased from about 25 in the early years to just over 55 when the cemetery was abandoned. The most likely explanation for this is that the ties -- based on either ethnicity or religion -- to this particular piece of ground were slowly being lost. Older members of the community continued to be buried at St. John's, while the younger members took advantage of other Catholic, and public, burial grounds.

The list of burials which survives also provides at least a glimpse into the lives of those using the plot -- helping us to better understand the urban black population in Charleston and particularly to better understand the urban black Catholic population. Even this superficial examination of City Directories revealed that those using St. John's were a mixed lot, including laborers, teachers, and even a policeman. Several were identified in the 1859 directory as "free persons of color." Others who should have been alive during the period were not listed and may represent either immigrants into the city, individuals missed by either the directories or this brief survey, or individuals who were slaves and therefore not enumerated. Some lived in the vicinity of the cemetery, although many more were scattered throughout the city, suggesting that the cemetery brought them together as black Catholics, not as neighborhood residents (see Table 3).

Helping to define the presence of free blacks, we also compared the *Taxes on Property Paid by Free Persons of Color* in 1859 with the list of burials. A number of family names, if not actually the same individuals were noted. Mary S. Johnson, for example, was enumerated as paying the \$3.00 tax on one slave. This may be the same Mary Johnson who was born in 1833 and who died in 1883. A Joseph Pencill, perhaps the same individual as Joseph Pencile (b. 1826, d. 1899), paid \$1.50 on a stock of goods valued at \$100. John Wilson (b. 1831, d. 1901) was listed as paying \$30 in taxes on real estate valued at \$2000. In addition, the family names of Lacombe, Castion, Aspinwall, and Noisette were found. Other names, such as Imnde (b. 1814), Millers (b. 1815), Cross (b. 1824), McClarence

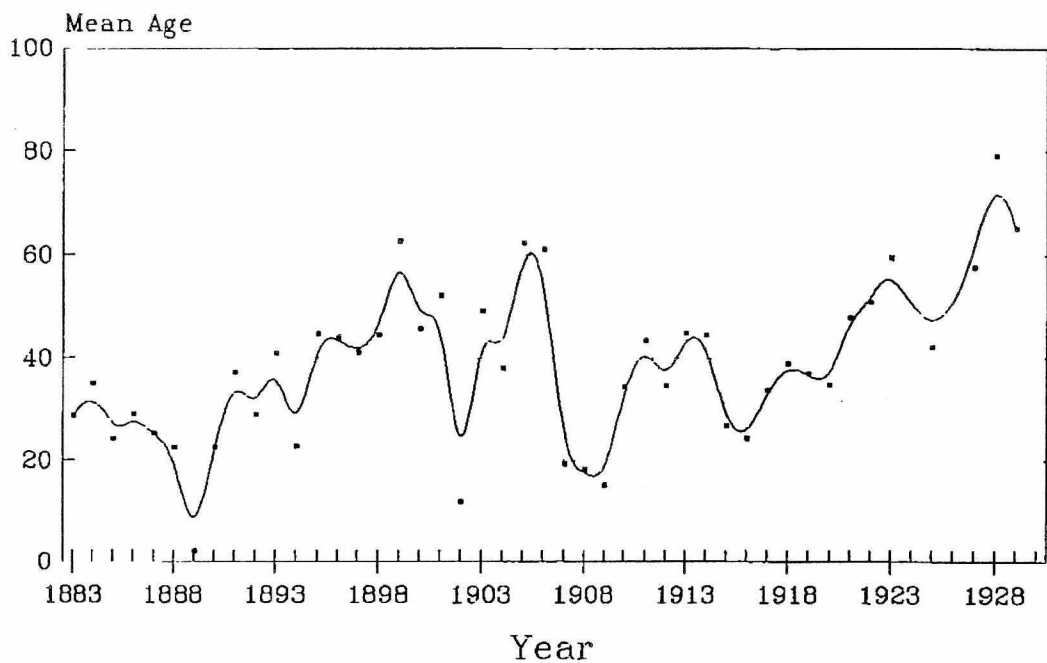


Figure 16. Mean death age by year for the St. Johns Cemetery.

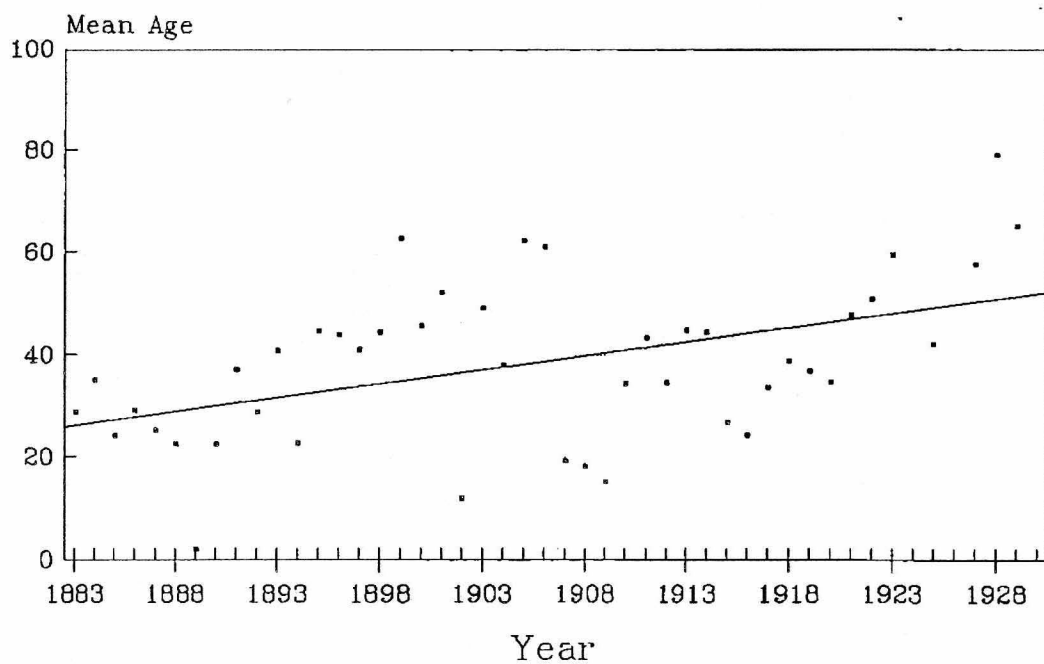


Figure 17. Statistical trend of mean death age for St. Johns Cemetery.



Table 3.  
Sample of Individuals Identified in the City Directories  
From the Cemetery

Name	Date of Death	Directory Date	Occupation	Residence
Andrews, Julius	1900	1894	barber	49 Line St.
Beatty, James	1913	1894	blacksmith	4 Duca Ct.
		1901	blacksmith	61 Nassau St.
Bell, John	1887	1859	carpenter	Rutledge nr. Nunan
		1882	whitewasher	30 Warren St.
Bellinger, Emma	1913	1901	(widow William H.)	4 Liberty St.
Bergman, Anne	1913	1893	bakery	406 Meeting
		1901		rear 406 Meeting
Boisden, E.L.	1888	1859	hairdresser	Judith, corner America
		1877	barber	146 Meeting St.
		1886	barber	252 Meeting St.
Boylan, Thomas	1907	1894	seaman	54 Anson St.
Brown, Charlotte	1923	1901	dressmaker	66 King St.
Brown, Emma	1910	1894	cook	rear 32 Society St.
Brown, Josephine	1918	1893	stewardess, SC Railway	Line St.
		1901	(married Ancrum)	58 Nassau St.
Burns, Joseph	1909	1893	fisherman	31 King St.
		1901	fisherman	31 King St.
Bynum, Julia	1913	1901	(m. Hampton)	70 Tradd St.
Carroll, Henry	1923	1877	drayman, police dept.	156 Coming St.
		1886	policeman	80 Spring St.
		1894	policeman	117 Line St.
Caston, Alfred J.	1899	1877	game	76 Calhoun
		1882	poultry	79 Market
		1894	poultry dealer	164 King
Caston, Oscar	1893	1877	fruit vendor	31 Market St.
		1886	restaurant	22 Chapel St.
		1893	lunchstand	50 Market St.
Deignan, William	1912	1893	ship carpenter	80 America St.
Elliott, Eliza	1915	1886	teacher, public	bds. 21 King St.
		1894	teacher, Bennett Sch.	
Gatewood, Anna	1903	1886	dressmaker	44 Nassau St.
Grant, Henry	1883	1877	laborer	rear 178 Meeting St.
		1882	wks. J.H. Stelmeyer	10 Cromwell Alley
Green, Charlotte	1896	1886	wks. S.L. Green	rear 61 Market St.
Guenveur, Joseph P.	1917	1886	carpenter	41½ Vanderhorst St.
		1893	carpenter	41½ Vanderhorst St.
James, Benjamin	1883	1882	painter	2 America St.
Johnson, Mary	1883	1859	(Maria)	Hanover, near Line St
LaCombe, Elizabeth	1886	1886	midwife	252 Meeting St.
Lapeme, Maurice	1911	1882	blacksmith	rear 119 Queen St.
Legare, Samuel	1898	1877	laborer	Hunter Alley
		1882	laborer	1 Court St.
McCormick, George	1927	1877	porter, J.F. Meyer	4 King St.
		1882	janitor, Military Hall	1 Orange St.
Michell, James	1892	1882	laborer	4 President St.
Miller, Josephine	1891	1877	(widow John)	bds. 75 Broad St.
		1882	teacher, Avery Inst.	bds. 35 Bull St.
Nesbit, baby of Joe	1887	1886	(Joseph E., works Bradley's Whf	93 Cannon St.
Nolsotte, Joseph	1905	1877	farmer	32 Woolfe St.
		1886	gardner	51 Nassau St.
Nolsotte, Phillip	1903	1877	farmer	King St.
		1882	farmer	King St.
Nolsotte, Thomas	1885	1882	farmer	Sansouci St.
Perrineaux, John F.	1890	1882	carpenter	26 Cannon St.
		1886	cotton sampler	36 Cannon St.
Pinckney, Peter	1892	1877	laborer	132 St. Philips St.
		1882	cook, J.E. Straus	8 Gadsden St.
Saunders, Frank	1890	1886	porter	3 Fishburne St.
Scott, Richard	1892	1877	barber	
Smith, Moses	1917	1877	driver, F. Von Oven	98 Coming
		1886	porter, F. Von Oven	Walkers Row
Stuart, Peter	1893	1886	newspaper carrier	rear 85 Beaufain St.
Sullivan, Henry	1888	1886	laborer	rear 308 King St.
Weston, Thomas W.	1915	1882	painter	7 Hanover St.
		1886	painter	123 Line St.
Whiteing, Charles	1893	1882	wks. C.C. Leslie	
		1886	wks. H.L. Townsend	48 Alexander St.
Williams, Marion	1913	1886	wks. A. Wallace	51 Market St.



(b. 1814), Leas (b. 1814), Washington (b. 1824) could not be found, leaving open the possibility that they were slaves, rather than "free persons of color," during the late antebellum period.

### The Context of Catholics in Charleston

There are a number of secondary resources which are available to help develop this context, including Clark (1982), Madden (1985), O'Brien (1937), and O'Connell (1879). Bellows (1993) is particularly useful in helping to understand the wider religious mood in Charleston, especially as it related to benevolence. This brief synopsis draws heavily from these sources, as well as the synopsis offered by Rosengarten et al. (1987).

A simple understanding of South Carolina history, combined with even a brief review of these texts, will reveal the complexity of tracing, much less outlining, any meaningful synopsis of Catholic history in Charleston. Religion has been intimately entwined with South Carolina, her society, and her politics at least since the General Assembly passed the 1706 Church Act making the Anglican religion the state religion. The melting pot of Huguenot, Quaker, Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, and Catholic religions has attracted the attention of many historians. Add to this the additional variable of African American influence, and choice, and the topic becomes almost overwhelming.

Bellows observes very early in her study that, "religion benevolence in Charleston reflected the presence of multiple traditions: the social ethic of the Anglicans . . . [and] the search for acceptance by Catholics" (Bellows 1993:27). She underscores that nineteenth century Catholics tended to distrust both the Civil authorities and also quasi-religious associations. As a rule they disapproved of translating the scripture into social action:

Catholics endured an uphill struggle for a share in the public life of Charleston, and church officials monitored the city's relief system for all signs of discrimination . . . . Sophisticated Catholics understood that co-option into the civic culture of Charleston posed the same threat to the integrity of their faith as the "zealous sectarians" who lurked in their neighborhoods and tried to seduce their children into Protestant Sunday school with offers of new shoes and books. . . . The two Irish benevolent associations, the Hibernian Society (1801) and St. Patrick's Society (1821), which devolved into social clubs open to bon vivants of the entire community for merriment and comradeship, illustrated to many Roman Catholics the homogenizing tendencies at work in the city (Bellows 1993:28-29).

Consequently, the Catholics tended to operate a charity system -- and a religion -- completely free of city funds, city control, or city influence. This created, in time, a fierce competition and animosity of Protestant groups. Combined with distrust of, or outright hatred for, the Papists and their ways, the Catholics were often at a social disadvantage.

With these substantial problems and issues, it was difficult for the Catholic Church in South Carolina to take a stand against slavery. Bellows notes, in fact, that Bishop John England's "scriptural defense of slavery and his acceptance of democratic principles [went] a long way toward mending the rift" between Catholics and Protestants (Bellows 1993:107).<sup>4</sup> Bishop England pronounced that slavery "was the greatest moral evil that can desolate any part of the civilized world," but in spite of this,

---

<sup>4</sup> Most formal religions available to the black population tended to dispense a "selective Christianity," emphasizing obedience as servants in this world and holding out a promise of later salvation.

emancipation of these slaves would not be "safe, practicable, or beneficial" (Bishop England, quoted in Clarke 1982:394). In 1840 Bishop England wrote:

it is impossible that it [slavery] should be abolished for a considerable time to come, without the most injurious results, not merely to property but to Society . . . [the physical condition of slaves] is, to say the least, equally good as that of any labouring population in Christendom . . . [and] intermeddling of northern abolitionists have tended to retard the generous and humane efforts which the Southern proprietors were spontaneously making for the increase of the comforts and the amelioration of the moral condition of the slave (Bishop England, quoted in Clark 1982:401).

In spite of this defense of slavery, Bishop England provides some of the first accounts of black Catholics in Charleston. In 1833 he described the condition in the Diocese of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, where there were:

10,000 Catholics, amongst whom are numbered the converts from the various sects, who do not number more than five or six hundred in the period of the last twelve years. Probably one thousand of the Catholics are slaves belonging to Protestant masters. For Catholics are too poor to possess this or any other kind of property. . . . The City of Charleston together with its outskirts have more than 40,000 inhabitants of which almost half are negro slaves. The number of Catholics in this region is about 5,000 of which one-fourth are slaves . . . . The great body of slaves are, in one way or another, however, attached either to the Methodists or Baptists; some of them are Presbyterians, fewer still Protestant Episcopalians; and only in the City of Charleston and a few towns, and on a very few plantations, perhaps from eight hundred to a thousand are Roman Catholic (Bishop England, quoted in Clarke 1982:390-392, 396).

Most of these black Catholics, according to Bishop England came originally from either the West Indies or Maryland.

While Bishop England could not, or chose not, to support freedom, he did make efforts to tend the black flock. Both the Cathedral (1822) and St. Mary's (1789) were situated south of Broad. Like Protestant churches of the period, blacks attended services, being seated in special galleries. Bishop England, however, realized that both black and white Catholics "scattered throughout the section north of Boundary Street [now Calhoun Street], then known as Charleston Neck, found it extremely inconvenient to attend either Saint Mary's or the Cathedral" (O'Brien 1937:35). In 1835 a census was conducted to determine support for a new church, finding "50 families, a number of individuals, and a considerable number of colored people" belonging to the Catholic Church in the Neck area. Support for a new church, however, was mixed, with some arguing that they had no desire to leave St. Mary's. Eventually a compromise was reached allowing families living in the Neck to stay at existing churches, if they chose to do so.

As a result St. Patrick's Church was built in 1838, complete with a gallery on the north for "colored people" and a gallery on the south for the white parishioners. This frame church was originally located at 415 King Street, with parish lines apparently incorporating the vast majority of the Neck area. From the beginning this church seems to have ministered extensively to the blacks. After the building was consecrated on December 23, 1838 the free black congregation remained after the benediction to sing additional hymns and offer further prayers. By January 1, 1839 several black

families had even purchased pews.<sup>5</sup>

While Madden (1985:68) observes that "every parish had a share of Blacks in its congregation," it seems likely, based on the information found during this brief review, that prior to 1838 black Catholics would be considered members of either the Cathedral or St. Mary's.<sup>6</sup> After 1838 it is likely that St. Patrick's increasingly became the focus of black Catholics, especially for those who lived in the Neck area.<sup>7</sup>

Madden also remarks that:

there were societies for the Blacks, such as the Francis Xavier Society of the Cathedral. There was also the St. Joseph's Benevolent Society founded September 15, 1841. The Treasurer for it, George Joseph Caverly<sup>8</sup>, made a deposit in the St. John's Savings Institution of \$325.00 in the name of St. Joseph's (col.) Society", on March 9, 1859. Also a depositor to the Savings Institution was "St. Peter's (col.) Society". The trustees for it were James Spencer, J. Boisdon<sup>9</sup>, and Antonio Furchereau (Madden 1985:68).

This, unfortunately, helps to explain little about the late nineteenth century St. John's Burial Association -- an organization about which nothing has thus far been discovered. In fact, the only information which might help explain the organization comes from the 1859 *Report of the Committee of City Council of Charleston on Burial Grounds and City Interments*:

Your committee has made special investigation and examination into the system, that has grown up almost imperceptibly of the burial of the colored population. For reasons that may, or may not be satisfactory, the different Churches have generally followed in the plan, of buying a place of interment for their colored membership, and there are some lots owned or held by Trustees for the use of color burial associations. These grounds are scattered thickly all through the Upper Wards [the Neck], and are left generally to the superintendence of the negroes themselves. In the

---

<sup>5</sup> Although the "pew system" was discouraged by Bishop England, who noted in 1822 that "a very painful and galling distinction is created between the rich and poor, which causes pride and self-conceit in the one, and mortification and shame in the other, where both ought to be on a footing of equality before their common maker," he resorted to the practice in 1835 when money to support operations (and especially support his missionary work in Haiti) began to dry up (see Clarke 1982:237-239).

<sup>6</sup> Regrettably the sacramental death register for the Cathedral no longer exists.

<sup>7</sup> According to Rosengarten et al, "the Neck has special advantages for city dwellers of African descent, especially for free Negroes and for slaves granted the privilege to work and live on their own. Rents were lower, real estate was more available and less expensive, and new houses could be built of wood, a practice discouraged within the city limits. The suburb also offered some respite from police surveillance and control; hence the Neck appealed to runaways, slaves "passing as free," and other people eager to expand their personal liberty" (Rosengarten et al. 1987:9).

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps related to the infant, Benjamin Joseph Cavillry, buried in the study tract on July 19, 1883.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps related to the E.L. or Mary Boisdon buried in the study tract.

Lower Wards, these are sixteen burial grounds for whites and five for colored people. In the Upper Wards, these are fourteen for whites, and twelve for colored, not including Potters Field.

It seems likely, therefore, that the St. John's Burial Association was simply a group of lay people which assumed control of the cemetery once it had been purchased by the Catholic Church. The membership probably changed through time, depending on interest, access, ability to contribute time, and standing in the community. This lay autonomy was rather common in the early years of the Catholic Church, when parishioners controlled church funds and often controlled even access to the church buildings.<sup>10</sup> But it is unlikely that the Association was formally constituted or was even formally recognized by the Catholic Church during the early period. Put another way, the Catholic Church purchased the land and then simply turned it over to the blacks for administration and care. This abdication of responsibility, whatever its moral consequences, had clear health consequences, at least according to the City:

A careful and experimental examination of some of these yards, resulted in discovering dead bodies not twenty-four inches under the surface, and the average in several yards was not three feet -- while not one had an average burial four feet beneath the surface (*Report of the Committee of City Council of Charleston on Burial Grounds and City Interments*, 1859).

After the Civil War black support for the Catholic Church appears to have dropped (see, for example Schmandt 1983:63). This was perhaps not unexpected considering the Church's lack of a clear moral policy on slavery. Miller also observes that:

Emancipation allowed most Southern blacks to express their religious preferences openly. Most visibly, the freedmen retreated from white churches to form their own. Just as they sought economic and political independence, they refused to take religion from their former masters. For Catholics this was not so easy. The Church lacked the resources to establish separate black and white churches, and congregational autonomy was not a recognized church practice. To remain of the faith meant having to suffer the humiliation of sitting in segregated galleries or pews in the old churches (Miller 1983b:167).

If blacks were impatient with the Catholic Church, so too was the Church with her black flock. O'Connell explained that the black Catholic:

will learn the prayers, receive baptism, and attend the divine service with fervor for some time, but impatient for moral restraint and the unity of the marriage bond, they cannot be permitted to approach the sacraments, and frequently fall away. If Catholicity were a system of singing, sensational preaching, and vociferous prayer, and limited to external observances, they would join the Church in thousands (O'Connell 1879:421).

He also noted that blacks since emancipation were, "opposed to mingling with white people in religious worship," curiously going on to observe, perhaps as an excuse, that "the prejudices of the races are so strong that social equality can never exist between the white people and their former slaves" (O'Connell 1879:422).

---

<sup>10</sup> See Clarke 1982 and particularly Miller 1983a for additional information on "lay-trusteeism."

It was the midst of these trying times that St. Peter's was created solely for Charleston's blacks in 1868 by Bishop Lynch, noting that Bishop Reynolds had proposed a similar black parish 13 years earlier, but could find no funds for the purpose (Madden 1985:104). While not as clear on the facts, in spite of their temporal proximity, O'Connell at least also recognized that St. Peter's was developed for the black Catholics of the Neck:

vigilant over the spiritual welfare of the emancipated slaves, the Bishop altered the character of the congregation of St. Peter's, and set it apart for the benefit of that race. They numbered several hundred, among whom are several converts (O'Connell 1879:164).

St. Peter's was at first under the direction of the Rev. Aloysius Louis Folchi, S.J. who appears to have had trouble from the start. Not only did parishioners complain about his accent, but other Catholic priests soon protested the creation of St. Peter's as a "free church":

whites who are unwilling to pay pew rent, and those who are deeply in arrears either in St. Mary's or St. Joseph's dismiss the matter by saying that they will go to St. Peter's (quoted in Madden 1985:105).

This suggests that while created for the blacks in the Neck, St. Peter's was, at least in outward appearances, an integrated congregation -- with all of those attending united at least by their poverty. Their complaints concerning the priest were common. As Miller explains, "the faithful chafed under the burden of poor preaching and alien ministers. The less devout stayed away" (Miller 1983b:153).

Early in 1872 Bishop Lynch attempted to have the St. Joseph's Missionary Society (also known as the Mars Hill Fathers) assume control of St. Peter's (as well as other black churches in South Carolina). Correspondence and visits were spread out over several years, but finally they agreed to the duty in 1875. An 1879 inspection of the mission church found a need for better burial arrangements, suggesting that there may have been some problem with the administration of the St. John's Burial Association.

There is evidence that while St. Peter's was intended to administer to the needs of black Catholics, many continued to consider themselves parishioners of St. Patrick's. When the new church at 136 St. Philips Street was consecrated in 1887 blacks remained after the services "for their own private services," suggesting that the church held special ties to the black Catholic community ("St. Patrick's Church Commemorates Laying of First Foundation Stone, *Charleston News and Courier*, May 21, 1987).

By the late 1880s the Mars Hill Fathers were seeking to be released from their burdens at St. Peter's and in 1892 the work at St. Peter's was taken over by the Pious Society of the Missions, to which all work with blacks in the Diocese was assigned. This included their work at the Immaculate Conception Church on Coming Street, considered a mission church of St. Peter's (meaning that there was no priest "stationed" at Immaculate Conception). When Immaculate Conception was converted into a school in 1904 "the congregation was once again forced to attend Mass in the downtown church" of St. Peter's (Madden 1985:217). By about 1917 oversight of the black congregation at St. Peter's and, by extension, Immaculate Conception, was assumed by the Congregation of the Holy Ghost (Madden 1985:195).

It seems clear from even this abbreviated history that the frequent changes in priests and religious orders, coupled with the changes in parish lines and the creation of new churches, served to undermine the corporate memory of the community and may have contributed to the loss of the early sacramental death records for St. Peter's Church and St. John's Cemetery.



### A Broader Regional Context

Miller (1983b) perhaps provides the best general regional account of the impact of the Catholic Church on black Americans. He succinctly observes that:

The story of black Catholics in the Old South is largely unwritten. It is easy to see why. The population was small and elusive. . . . Catholicism rarely touched black slaves, or whites too for that matter. Catholicism among black slaves in America left no legacy of resistance; it built no solid foundation for future black social and political activity; and it declined steadily among blacks throughout the nineteenth century. The black church in America grew out of the slaves' secret gatherings in groves and hollows -- out of the Afro-American community's striving for cultural and spiritual autonomy. Catholicism was no part of this process. The few Catholic slaves in the Old South lived as a people apart. As such, they slipped into historical obscurity (Miller 1983b:149-150).

Miller observes, as we have in this particular study, that the history of black Catholics must be "stitched together in patchwork design from scattered, randomly created, and sometimes doubtful and conflicting evidence" (Miller 1983b:150). In spite of the Catholic Church's emphasis on records, and extensive archives, it appears that black Catholics rarely played a central part.

Prior to the Civil War it is probably safe to say that Catholic slaves, like their Protestant counterparts, adapted the master's religion to fit their own community and needs. It was adapted, as well as adopted, and Catholicism saw integration of West Indian voodoo into mainstream religion. Many authors note that the Catholic Church abdicated its evangelical role among slaves, being unequipped to provide a moral beacon. This is perhaps unduly harsh since Protestant churches, in their support of slavery and duty to master, were no more moral beacons than the Bishops of Charleston. Religion, in Southern white society, was used as a bastion of defence, helping to maintain, and justify, the status quo.

After the Civil War, the Catholic Church was swamped by financial and staffing problems. Church finances were never strong, and the collapse of the Confederacy and her economy destroyed the finances of many churches. Miller (1983b) suggests that the fundamental cause of the Church's failure to attract more blacks, or whites, was the dependence on immigrant clergymen. Foreign-born priests had trouble with the language, as well as with Southern culture -- alienating Protestant and Catholic alike. Coupled with this was the strong surge of Nativism which began in the 1850s and continued well in the 1870s. Simply put, anti-Catholic feelings discouraged conversions and created the need for a constant defence (in the words of Miller, "too weak to be a bastion for the slaves and the poor, or an attraction to them"). The ministry to the ex-slaves might best be described as halting, or perhaps even fumbling. While the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866 promised a fresh approach to missionizing among the freedmen, it failed to materialize. In retrospect, it is clear that the Church became overwhelmed with the waves of new immigrants from Europe.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps of equal importance is that the Catholic Church chose not to involve itself in the National confusion regarding the political, social, and economic welfare of Southern blacks. Left to their own devices, many ex-slaves adopted religious views and practices with antebellum roots, such as African Methodism. Others turned to churches with a history of permitting black congregations, such as the Episcopalians and Presbyterians.

---

<sup>11</sup> In Charleston a number of factors worked together to contain the Irish newcomers. While the Neck had a small enclave of Irish in the post-war years, this Irish invasion did not radically change the lives of free blacks in the various trades.

## SIGNIFICANCE

### National Register of Historic Places

The St. John's Cemetery, also known as Immaculate Conception Cemetery or simply as the Burial Ground for Colored Catholics, is likely eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. Given its use for burial of African American slaves, "free persons of color," and freedmen, it offers extraordinary biocultural diversity. The cemetery has the potential to yield important information about subjects such as demography, variations in mortuary practices, the study of cause of death correlated with nutrition, the presence and use of coffin hardware, and a range of micro-chemical studies. Consequently, the cemetery is likely eligible under Criterion D -- Information Potential.

In order to evaluate eligibility, we have adopted the approach suggested by Townsend et al. (1993:32), which involves five steps:

- the site's data sets are identified;
- the historic context of the site is identified, providing a framework for evaluation;
- important research questions which the site's data sets can address are identified;
- the data sets are evaluated in terms of archaeological/archaeobiological integrity (i.e., are the data sets sufficiently well preserved to address the research questions); and
- the information is evaluated in terms of its importance (i.e., how will it contribute to the archaeological/archaeobiological context).

At the present time we can speculate on the data sets which are likely present -- human skeletal material, coffin furnishings or hardware, coffin materials, shroud fragments or associations, clothing items, and possibly grave associations -- although absent more detailed archaeological research these items cannot be positively supported. However, the questions which we may have are likely to be questions of degree or condition, not questions of presence. For example, the historical documentation is clear that this site is the location of the cemetery. There is good oral history associating this ground with human interments. What we do not know, at present, is the condition of the human remains. If the soils tend to hold water throughout the year preservation may be quite good. If there is seasonal wetting and drying preservation may be less satisfactory. Biocultural and archaeobiological information may be present only as stains, requiring immediate, in-situ metric analysis and limiting the potential for non-metric studies. While we can speculate on the possibilities, we cannot know for sure without additional archaeological testing. But regardless of the condition of the skeletal material, certain other items -- coffin hardware, clothing items, shroud pins, are all likely present.

The historic context for the cemetery has been discussed in the previous section of this study. It outlines the place of black Catholics in South Carolina and the region. It reconstructs the parishes which might have been associated with black Catholics during the mid-nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. And it reviews a little bit of the social history concerning those

individuals known to have been buried at the cemetery. Additional historic context, which helps us to understand the growth of the Neck and its black population, has been provided by Rosengarten et al. (1987).

**Important research questions** include a host of biocultural studies which explore the health of Charleston's black population. It is reasonably certain that all of the burials at this cemetery are those of African Americans. While, absent markers, we are not able to identify specific individuals or their position in society, we have some information concerning the range of possibilities -- slave, "free person of color," freedman. Grave associations (coffin hardware, coins, and clothing items) may be helpful in dating specific burials. This dating, in turn, would permit exploration of issues focused on urban versus plantation slavery. That all of the burials represent Catholics offers additional research potential, allowing the exploration of a cultural "sub-set" within Charleston. Questions concerning status, wealth, and burial practices may also be addressed by the research.

It is likely that the data sets have the **integrity** to address at least some of these questions. While skeletal material may crumble and leach away, leaving only stains, even these stains can be used for gross level metric studies. Even small quantities of intact skeletal material may be useful for microchemical studies leading to information on the diet, health, and disease of Charleston's black population. More durable goods, such as coffin handles, can be used to further our knowledge of mortuary practices and the family's display of wealth. Clothing items can help date the burials, allowing finer tuning of temporal research questions. An examination of the cemetery's surface suggests that there is a high probability that the burials are undisturbed -- even if they are buried only two to three feet below the present ground surface. While there may be some disturbance from the various building and demolition episodes, there are additional areas with no such disturbance.

Many, perhaps most, of these research questions can be addressed in no other way. Reconstructing biocultural information from historic records is fraught with difficulties and errors. The ability to use physical evidence -- the skeletal material, the grave associations -- offer a unique opportunity to go beyond speculation and collect hard data. The implications to our understanding of black life in Charleston are profound.

This discussion is not meant to be a recommendation that the cemetery be excavated. Instead it is intended to illustrate that the information it contains is very important and should not be needlessly disturbed. Should, at some future date, removal of those interred there be legally necessary, that removal should be done by professional archaeologists and physical anthropologists capable of making sure that the important information is not lost.<sup>12</sup>

Beyond information potential, does the cemetery have significance under the National Register criteria? Normally cemeteries are not considered eligible for inclusion on the National Register for reasons other than their information potential. Such properties can be eligible for listing, however, if they meet special requirement, called Criteria Considerations. We believe that the St. John's Cemetery is eligible under "Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries," based on its association with historic events in the development of the black population in Charleston. The cemetery represents a unique chapter of Charleston's history -- the setting aside of ground in the Neck for "colored burials,"

---

<sup>12</sup> South Carolina state law, of course, requires even this work to be conducted under the presence of a licensed undertaker. However, while an undertaker may use a backhoe to remove a grave, archaeologists would use shovels and spoons. While an undertaker might gather what remains are evident, the archaeologist and physical anthropologist would completely record, photograph, and sample all of these remains. In both cases the remains would be reburied and, during study, the remains would be treated with dignity.



the struggle of the Catholic Church to have an impact on blacks in the region, and the struggle of blacks themselves to find a place in the predominately white society. This cemetery provides testimony to the struggle of these African Americans to build a community. As Miller has noted, not only is the history of black Catholics largely unwritten, but it must be "stitched together in a patchwork design from scattered, randomly created, and sometime doubtful and conflicting sources" (Miller 1983b:149-150). St. John's offers one of the more concrete sources of information.

#### **State Law**

In addition to our primary interest in terms of historic and archaeological importance, it is essential to remember that cemeteries are protected by several South Carolina laws, specifically S.C. Code of Laws § 24-43-10 et seq. and § 16-17-600. In particular, §16-17-600 relates to the destruction of graves, making it a felony to destroy or desecrate a deceased human being or other human remains. It further makes it unlawful to damage or destroy gravestones, markers, fencing, plants or shrubs in a cemetery or graveyard.

## **A PRESERVATION PLAN**

### **General Preservation Concerns**

In general a preservation plan for a graveyard will cover eight primary questions or issues (Strangstad 1988:7-8; see also Mayer 1980):

- what level of security is present for the graveyard and what level is actually needed?
- what documentation exists of the markers, the inscriptions on the markers, and of the graveyard in general, and what is needed?
- what restoration or conservation work is needed?
- what archaeology has been done within the graveyard and what needs to be done?
- what information exists about the landscaping of the graveyard and what is required in the way of landscaping?
- how can public interest in the preservation of the graveyard and in the graveyard itself be promoted and maintained?
- what funding is available and how might additional funds be obtained for the preservation of the graveyard?
- what legal body has jurisdiction over the graveyard?

The answers to most of these eight questions are complex and can be addressed only in a general manner in this study.

### **Security**

Currently, the security provided the graveyard is low-key to say the least. It is likely that relatively few people in Charleston remember that this is a cemetery and security issues are more concerned with personal safety than with vandalism and the preservation of the cemetery. The area is somewhat visible from the Crosstown, although adjacent bushes reduce visibility and traffic congestion limits the effectiveness of drive-by surveillance. Security at night is assisted by the lighting of the Crosstown, but can be supplemented by additional elevated light sources.

Future security issues will include the introduction of appropriate fencing, better lighting, landscaping, and signage.

- Fencing should be considered a psychological, rather than physical, barrier. Any fence, including those in penal institutions, can be scaled by a determined individual with the correct equipment. The goal of fencing at this site should be to denote physical boundaries and instill a sense of respect -- not to keep people out. The fencing should also ensure that activities in the area can be easily monitored. Examples of potentially appropriate fencing (ranging from

low to high cost) include 4-foot high chain link, treated wood picket fence, and wrought iron. Selection of fencing should be made on the basis of the total preservation plan, not simply on the basis of cost (chain link is relatively low in cost, but it lacks historic sensitivity). The selection should also consider long-term maintenance issues (wood fences require periodic repainting) and the potential for vandalism (wrought fences can be easily damaged and are expensive to repair). One additional fencing alternative which is appropriate along adjacent property lines where lines of sight are already limited is a "living fence." Osage orange, for example, produces a thick hedge with sharp thorns that has for years been used to prevent access. There are other plantings which would achieve the same result.

- Lighting is an important ingredient in security, but increasingly the public (especially in neighborhood settings) is concerned with "light pollution." Lighting at the cemetery should be designed to reduce this pollution by shining down. Walkway and special purpose lighting should be used in lieu of long distribution lighting. Light levels should be kept as low as practical to avoid complaints.

- Landscaping is an important interpretative issue and will be discussed in a following section. It should, however, be balanced with security issues and plantings should be designed to allow safe passage through the area and to avoid obstructing essential lines of sight.

- Signage should be erected that state when the graveyard is open, that prohibit trespassing after closing hours, and that provide a telephone number to make inquiries and to report trouble. The signage should also interpret the cemetery, helping visitors and residents understand the importance of this site to Charleston, to African Americans, and to Catholics. If the portion of Calvary Cemetery which contains markers is included, signage should explain gravestone rubbings damage the markers and are prohibited and should warn of potential danger to visitors and the markers if the markers are used for climbing, jumping, swinging, sitting, or simply leaning.

#### **Documentation**

This study has provided a preliminary account of the cemetery -- certainly enough to develop appropriate public signage. There are regrettably no markers in St. John's, so marker documentation is not an issue. If Calvary Cemetery is included, markers do exist. Little or no research has been done on these markers and the inscriptions, on the people interred in the cemetery, or even the cemeteries themselves. Nor is a map available showing the exact locations of the various markers. No information was immediately identified on the location of graves in any of the various cemeteries.

At the present time there is adequate (although certainly not complete) documentation on the St. John's Cemetery. We do strongly recommend that an oral history study of the cemetery be conducted. This would solicit information on the families who used the cemetery and may provide previously unrecognized sources or historical information, including photographs.

#### **Conservation and Restoration**

Since there are stones known to exist from the St. John's Cemetery the conservation and restoration of the markers are not an issue. In spite of this, it is appropriate to briefly examine this issue, since it may eventually be important at the Calvary Cemetery.

Conservation refers to a specialized field involved with the stabilization, protection from further deterioration, and protection from additional loss of objects of value (see Strangstad 1988:6). Thus, gravestone conservation strictly means the skilled techniques used to repair and stabilize

gravestones and monuments. Restoration means to restore to a previous condition, which includes reconstructing, repairing, and renewing.

The restoration and conservation of individual specimens of metal, stone, and brick work is extremely time consuming and amounts to custom repair for each specimen. It is not work which should be undertaken by the average brick mason or stone cutter. In fact, all restoration and conservation work should be conducted under the American Institute for Conservation of Artistic and Historic Works' Code of Ethics and Standards of Practice. The work should be marked by respect for the integrity of the object, use of reversible procedures (so that the repair or treatment can be undone if in the future that is necessary), the use of least intrusive methods, and full and complete documentation of all procedures.

While restoration and conservation can also apply to the cemetery as a whole -- the grounds, the landscape, and other features -- the current setting appears to be devoid of any such materials. Consequently, the issues which might normally be dealt with under the topic of restoration and conservation will be addressed under landscaping.

#### **Archaeological Research**

While a range of additional archaeological research, including the location of individual graves, is possible we doubt that at present it is necessary. Absent any overriding concern, such as the need for ground disturbing activities on the site, we recommend that the cemetery be left undisturbed.

However, should there be a need for ground disturbing construction the burials will likely require identification and removal. At that time we strongly recommend that archaeological and osteological investigations be undertaken, in conjunction with the state mandated oversight of a licensed undertaker.<sup>13</sup> This will likely include the use of ground penetrating radar to identify the individual burials, coupled with hand excavation to remove the burial deposits. While it may be possible to use stripping to identify coffin stains, the combination of water percolation and potential for shallow burial makes this approach risky. While more expensive, ground penetrating radar is likely to yield superior results.

#### **Landscaping**

The only information we have been able to identify on previous landscaping comes from the photographs of the two Immaculate Conception churches, largely taken in the 1930s and early 1940s. Careful examination of these photographs provides some information on plantings *of that time*. There is no way of determining whether these plantings have any significant antiquity. Absent the confining factors of complying with a previous plan, there are a variety of recommendations which we may offer:

- All landscaping should balance aesthetic issues with the security needs of an urban setting. In other words, large masses of plantings may be inappropriate.
- Landscaping should also recognize the potential to damage or destroy human remains. Consequently, all ground disturbing activities should be limited to the upper 0.5 foot of the

---

<sup>13</sup> We strongly recommend that efforts to have any removal conducted solely by an undertaker be resisted. This approach denies both the public and the profession from gaining insights which would otherwise be lost.

soil. This would include placement of sprinkler systems, electrical lines, and construction of pathways. Spot excavation, for example sufficient for small shrubs, is acceptable, but any excavations over 1.5 feet in depth should be overseen by an archaeologist and all fill should be screened.

■ One of the first landscape issues requiring attention is the wet condition of the site. This may be seasonal in nature, the result of drainage pattern changes, or caused by extensive local rainfall. Regardless, the cause should be determined and steps taken to reduce or eliminate its impact on future use. This may include solving off-site drainage problems or perhaps even the use of fill soil to raise the level of the property slightly.<sup>14</sup> One alternative approach to the soil moisture issue is perhaps to identify the specific area of greatest wetness and plant this area in self-seeding wildflowers. Hardy, adaptable to a range of growing conditions, and requiring little maintenance, wildflowers may provide an attractive alternative to more aggressive control measures.

■ Landscaping should be understood to incorporate a broad range of features, including the fencing, lighting, creation of paths, placement of benches, and use of vegetation. By developing, and implementing, the program in this manner it is more likely that the site will become an asset to the community -- an area of tranquility and peace in the middle of the urban setting. It will also allow the development of a clearly defined theme, whether that is based on a historic period or other attributes.

■ We strongly recommend the use of flowering, heirloom/exotic/threatened plants. They are more appropriate to the setting and may help develop an appropriate mood. They may also help provide higher visibility to the site, capturing neighborhood interest and support. For example, if azaleas must be planted, native species should be used. Arbors over benches can be used to support old climbing/rambling roses, morning glories, jessamine, or even datura plants. There are a number of sources of old plant material -- Montecello and Select Seeds, for example. Waverly Place here in South Carolina also specializes in indigenous plants. Woodlanders in Aiken, South Carolina sells a number of threatened and endangered plants (sale within the state is not in violation of the Endangered species law). We recommend abundant use of perennials (or even a few biennials) such as red yarrow (drought tolerant), fig hollyhock (good for wet soils), columbines, swallowwort, cream wild indigo (another native plant that is long lived and drought tolerant), lady's smock, chamomile, feverfew (long a medicinal plant), sweet william (a very old cultivar), foxglove, small globe thistle, coneflower, bloody cranesbill (which has good foliage that also exhibits fall colors), lavender (fragrant and very hardy), wild bergamot, sundrops (a native plant which dates back to at least 1737 in gardens), nicotiana, buddleia (very attractive to butterflies -- as are thistle, milkweed and verbena), jimson, and joe pyeweed. Shrubs might include Carolina allspice, Japanese pittosporum, and thorny elaeagnus (which might also make a good boundary plant to keep traffic down).

---

<sup>14</sup> If fill is used there are a number of issues which must be considered. First, a licensed surveyor should prepare a topographic map of the tract at a contour level of no greater than 0.2 foot in order to document the current topography. Second, the fill must be applied in a way that causes no additional damage to the site. This will likely require that the work be done only during dry periods when the soil will not bog down or rut. It will also likely require that the work is done by very small, rubber tire equipment. Third, a barrier filter fabric should be installed over the existing site. Fourth, the fill soil should be a light mixture of sand and loam free of physical and chemical contaminants.

## **Public Interest**

This discussion will cover only a few of the more obvious activities to generate public interest and support. In general, the public must be seen as Catholics with familial ties to the cemetery, Episcopalians with ties to Calvary Church, and those living in the area with ties to the neighborhood. These three groups have different interests and goals -- all must be brought together for public interest to operate to preserve and enhance the site.

One of the first approaches has already been suggested -- an oral history project. Not only would this provide essential documentary evidence, but it would also help engender support among the Catholic population. They must be made to feel a part of all activities on this site, since it is the final resting place of their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. They must also support the activities since such support is essential for any inter-denominational activities. The oral history program, begun in St. Patrick's, could then spread into the neighborhood, involving others in learning more about this cemetery.

To assist in developing public support, Calvary Church should also develop news releases explaining the program to preserve and protect the site. Ideally these releases should be developed in concert with the Catholic Diocese, since the public should see this effort as two churches working together. The effort should be developed as the protection and preservation of a part of Charleston's African American heritage -- not just as the preservation of "sacred ground."

The neighborhood should be involved in the project through a neighborhood meeting -- they must take a share of ownership of the project to help protect it from vandalism. The work should be promoted as a greenspace within the community -- as a resource for the entire community to enjoy. It should also be offered as tribute to the role African Americans played in the economic, social, political, and religious development of Charleston.

An important aspect of public interest is signage for the cemetery. In a few simple paragraphs the story of the cemetery should be told in a non-sectarian manner.

## **Funding**

Funding for this project must be the responsibility of the property owner -- whether that be the Catholic or Episcopal church. It is unlikely that funding for the project can be obtained from any governmental agency. We cannot recommend placing the property in government control since the local community would lose ultimate control. It may, however, be possible to identify various local civic and social organizations willing to help in the preservation process. I am not familiar with the resources of the local community, but they should be tapped -- again to emphasize the local nature of the project and build a sense of ownership and pride. It would be best if both churches could collaborate on the project, regardless of ownership. This would present a solid front and the concept of this sort of collaborative effort is attractive to the public.

## **Legal Jurisdiction**

I understand that the negotiations for ownership of the property have been ongoing for some time. While not familiar with the details, I also understand that the negotiations might, at times, be described as "rocky." It is essential that the question of legal jurisdiction be resolved as soon as practical. If the Episcopal Church is to purchase the property, the transaction should be consummated in the near future. Protracted negotiations may reduce the opportunity to build a consensus and public support. When the attention shifts from developing a community-based cemetery park memorializing the African American contribution to the technical issues of the negotiation process, the forward

momentum is lost. A win-win negotiation strategy where all the parties are participants in the eventual cemetery park development is more likely to build long-term consensus and support.

I also understand that, at least in the past, there was consideration of placing low income housing on this tract. While we support the need for affordable housing, we are unwilling to allow the discussions to turn on this issue. Simply put, we do not believe that this is the only location in the Neck available for this purpose. Placing this, or any other development, on a cemetery is clearly not the best, or the appropriate, use of the property. Hopefully this study will have documented enough of the history of St. John's that all parties can agree it is worth preserving and interpreting.



## SOURCES CITED

- Anonymous  
1860 *List of the Tax Payers of the City of Charleston for 1859*. Walker and Evans, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Bellows, Barbara L.  
1993 *Benevolence Among Slaveholders: Assisting the Poor in Charleston, 1670-1860*. Louisiana State University. Baton Rouge.
- Calhoun, Jeanne A. and Martha A. Zierden  
1984 *Charleston's Commercial Landscape, 1803-1860*. Archaeological Contributions 7. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Clarke, Peter  
1982 *A Free Church in a Free Society: The Ecclesiology of John England, Bishop of Charleston, 1820-1842*. Center for John England Studies, Hartsville, South Carolina.
- Madden, Richard C.  
1985 *Catholics in South Carolina: A Record*. University Press of America. Lanham, Maryland.
- Mayer, Lance R.  
1980 *The Care of Old Cemeteries and Gravestones*. The Association for Gravestone Studies, n.p.
- Miller, E.N., Jr.  
1971 *Soil Survey of Charleston County, South Carolina*. U.S.D.A., Soil Conservation Service, Washington, D.C.
- Miller, Randall M.  
1983a A Church in Cultural Captivity: Some Speculations on Catholic Identity in the Old South. In *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*, edited by Randall M. Miller and Jan L. Wakelyn, pp. 11-52. Mercer University Press, Macon.  
1983b The Failed Mission: The Catholic Church and Black Catholics in the Old South. In *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*, edited by Randall M. Miller and Jan L. Wakelyn, pp. 149-170. Mercer University Press, Macon.
- O'Brien, Joseph L.  
1937 *A Chronicle History of Saint Patrick's Church, Charleston, South Carolina*. John E. Furlong and Son, Charleston, South Carolina.
- O'Connell, J.J.  
1879 *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia: Leaves of its History*. D. and J. Sadlier, New York.

Rosengarten, Dale, Martha Zierden, Kimberly Grimes, Ziyadah Owusu, Elizabeth Alston, and Wil Williams, III

- 1987 *Between the Tracks: Charleston's East Side During the Nineteenth Century*. Archaeological Contribution 17. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

Schmandt, Raymond H.

- 1983 *An Overview of Institutional Establishments in the Antebellum Southern Church*. In *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*, edited by Randall M. Miller and Jan L. Wakelyn, pp. 53-76. Mercer University Press, Macon.

Strangstad, Lynette

- 1988 *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*. American Association for State and Local History, Nashville.

Townsend, Jan, John H. Sprinkle, Jr., and John Knoerl

- 1993 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Historical Archaeological Sites and Districts*. Bulletin 36. National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Zierden, Martha A. and Jeanne A. Calhoun

- 1984 *An Archaeological Preservation Plan for Charleston, South Carolina*. Archaeological Contributions 8. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

## **APPENDIX 1.**

**List of Individuals Buried in St. John's or Immaculate Conception Cemetery  
Taken from the Death Registry of St. Peter's Catholic Church, Charleston, SC,  
Now Housed at St. Patricks Catholic Church, Charleston, SC**

Name	Age at Death	Date of Death
?	3 days	10/?/1895
?, Helen	7 days	11/24/1890
?, Leland	adult	10/7/1891
?, Michael	infant	8/16/1899
Andrews, Julius	24	2/6/1900
Aspinwall, Belsamine	70?	3/27/1883
Aviluge?, Mary Nettie	2 months	8/13/1886
Baber, Mary Essie	1.5	8/12/1884
Barnes, Sarah Lucille	82	9/15/1911
Barnfod, Amos (Mrs.)	40?	7/2/1884
Barron, J.W.F.	22 months	8/13/1911
Baxley, Thurston Bernard	?	10/?/1928
Bayley, Marie	3	2/3/1889
Beatty, James	65	9/25/1913
Bell, Adelle	50?	9/20/1885
Bell, John	60?	5/29/1887
Bell, Julia	35?	9/20/1885
Bellinger, Emma	65	1/29/1913
Bennett, Elsie	adult	5/?/1889
Bergman, ?	30	6/?/1894
Bergman, Anne	89	11/5/1913
Bignetti, Sarah	72	12/26/1901
Bingley, (baby)	infant	7/3/1887
Bingley, Huartine?	?	11/5/1886
Bingley, Louisa	82	8/31/1911
Birdeaux, Susan	70	9/14/1903
Bishop, John	35	8/17/1893
Boisden, Mary	76	11/23/1899

Boisdon, E.L.	?	11/14/1888
Bond, John	1	10/18/1883
Bowman, Rowanna	34	6/3/1887
Boylan, Stella	8	7/24/1910
Boylan, Thomas	adult	11/11/1907
Boylin, Mrs.	60	7/20/1895
Broughton, John A.	6 months	8/9/1885
Brown, Charlotte	?	9/11/1923
Brown, Emily	60	11/19/1900
Brown, Emma	27	8/28/1910
Brown, J. (Mr.)	90	3/3/1896
Brown, Josephine	48	1/24/1918
Brown, Mrs.	80?	9/8/1888
Brown, Wilhelmina	1 month	7/1/1905
Burns, Joseph	30	12/31/1909
Butler, Christopher	1 week	8/13/1894
Butler, Elliott	38	1/8/1899
Bynum, Julia	43	1/9/1913
Cadel, Joseph Leonard	3 months	8/26/1918
Cadette, Rosina	1	9/10/1920
Campbell, Addair	27	9/30/1907
Campbell, Alphonso	33	7/9/1885
Campbell, Aurwinthea (Mrs.)	adult	2/3/1891
Campbell, Daisy	2 months	12/2/1903
Campbell, Eloise	8.5	4/18/1898
Campbell, Emily	3	2/18/1908
Campbell, Joseph W.	3 months	12/27/1909
Campbell, Louisa	adult	6/27/1889
Campbell, Thresa	4 months	5/28/1907

Campbell, William	28	5/2/1911
Carr, Silas	adult	2/27/1902
Carroll, ?	?	7/8/1892
Carroll, Henry	78	1/8/1923
Carroll, Mary Anne	infant	2/3/1891
Carroll, Mary	60	5/10/1918
Carroll, Mary	55	7/17/1919
Carroll, Samuel	4	9/14/1888
Carroll, Septima	62	7/31/1910
Carroll, William	75	6/4/1922
Castein, Alfred	28	1/27/1909
Castio, Oscar	50	7/3/1893
Castion, Alfred J.	48	7/18/1899
Castion, Mary	78	3/1/1891
Cavillry, Benjamine Joseph	4 months	7/19/1883
Charles, P.W.	infant	10/10/1886
Chinck, Montague Martin	10	12/9/1904
Chisholm, John, Jr.	infant	5/13/1888
Clarke, Mary	2 weeks	10/23/1883
Cloud, Oscar	11 months	10/3/1889
Clynwan, Thomas	65	7/27/1884
Coaxam, Lavinia	40	1/16/1897
Coaxum, William	10	6/19/1891
Coles, Ida	24	9/11/1901
Collen, Sharlette	12	3/19/1883
Conway, Anna (Mrs.)	23	11/11/1898
Conway, William	24	11/1/1897
Coxum, ?	?	6/?/1894
Craig, Phoebe	adult	9/7/1914

Crawley, Fannie	65	12/31/1915
Cross, Mary Anne	60?	4/12/1884
Curl, Maria	1	10/7/1886
Daniees, Lulu	adult	1/27/1905
Daniels, Agnes	26	3/20/1914
Daniels, J.	6 months	5/3/1904
Daniels, John	67	12/19/1917
Daniels, Mary	29	6/21/1919
David, Mrs.	80	11/13/1894
Deas, Anna	17	2/25/1913
Deas, Rudolph	19	6/29/1916
Deignam, Adnus	11 months	12/27/1902
Deignam, Emeline	65	3/16/1908
Deignam, William	39	7/8/1912
Discher, Arthur	38	2/6/1898
Dougherty, George	65	3/8/1905
Dour, John E.	2 weeks	2/2/1902
Dray, Adolphus	38	11/1/1906
Drayton, Susan	80	7/?/1905
Dublin, ?	?	9/24/1886
Duffus, Harold, Jr.	2 days	12/3/1916
Durnmett, Arthur	48	5/12/1915
Edwards, Jesse	60	1/3/1921
Edwards, Julia	50	10/22/1920
Elliott, Eliza	adult	8/25/1915
Feuhey, Henry	35?	12/4/1890
Fierson, Sarah E.	3 months	1/23/1902
Fleming, Martha	61	1/20/1906
Ford, Sarah	68	10/27/1899



Forde, Etta	adult	5/16/1916
Fordham, Ausella	52	12/30/1912
Fraine, James J.	3 months	4/29/1908
Fraser, Carlotta	4 months	5/20/1917
Fraser, Marie	1	7/22/1916
Friends?, Ashby	adult	7/1/1888
Fuller, Mrs.	84	1/6/1906
Fuller, Thomas	19	8/?/1901
Gadson, Clara	?	11/25/1883
Gadson, William	1 week	3/1/1883
Gatewood, Anna	56	11/11/1903
Gathers, Sara	adult	5/26/1888
Geunveru, Elizabeth (Mrs.)	80	12/21/1896
Gibbs, Josephine	adult	5/8/1909
Glicesnecy, Carrie	41	5/6/1915
Gormis, ?	28	1/23/1885
Grant, Adulphus	infant	12/16/1888
Grant, Catherine	30	7/1/1907
Grant, Edward	20 days	2/23/1885
Grant, Elizabeth	56	11/29/1897
Grant, Henry	36	2/12/1883
Grant, Marie	infant	12/6/1891
Green, Charlotte	45?	12/20/1896
Grippon, Harriet Agnes	1 week	4/27/1913
Guenveur, Evelyn	40	10/28/1916
Guenveur, Harry	10	12/9/1894
Guenveur, Joseph Paul	63	6/8/1917
Guest, Susan	34	2/25/1884
Gyles, ?	9 months	7/24/1893

Hamilton, Elizabeth	adult	11/15/1887
Hamilton, Henry	20 months	3/12/1889
Hamilton, Viola	3	6/2/1917
Hamilton, Walker	8	10/23/1904
Harley, Julia (Mr.)	?	3/22/1915
Harries, Emma	39	3/18/1884
Hart, Elizabeth	?	?/?/1924
Hawkins, James	35	7/16/1887
Hayne, Charles	adult	12/11/1913
Hernandez, James	infant	7/7/1890
Heyward, Helen	54	8/11/1927
Hoffman, Medren	14	8/28/1917
Holmes, baby	2 days	9/?/1894
Holmes, Florence	27	7/10/1898
Holmes, Mary	22	10/19/1892
Howard, Eliza (Mrs.)	76	11/14/1898
Humes, Celestinas	5 months	4/17/1884
Hunt, Susie (Mrs.)	55	2/4/1925
Hutchoson, Corneila	49	5/5/1898
Imnde?, Marcelline	69	7/27/1883
Jackson, Minnie	32	11/15/1914
James, Benjamin	21	1/24/1883
Jenkins, Geoard	adult	1/21/1888
Jenkins, Teresa	50	1/13/1901
Johnson, Henry	adult	2/6/1908
Johnson, Mary	53	2/12/1883
Johnston, Edwina (Mrs.)	42	11/14/1898
Kenney, George	21	1/17/1908
Kenny, Joseph	infant	6/4/1891

Kurd, Anna	?	?/?/?
Labate, Julian	19	3/4/1900
Labate, Mattie (Mrs.)	32	1/22/1901
LaComebe, Elizabeth	60?	12/8/1886
LaCosts, Mrs.	70?	11/13/1890
Lambert, George	55	10/25/1913
Lapenne, Maurice	79	11/24/1911
Lawrence, Mary	60	5/29/1921
Lear, Mrs.	?	3/22/1887
Leas, Samuel	70	8/13/1884
Leche, Cameur	90	1/31/1893
Lee, Francis	1	9/12/1912
Legare, Sameul	78	8/30/1898
LePayne, Mars	50	8/27/1896
Logan, Marie (Mrs.)	60	2/10/1891
Logan, William	81	11/16/1916
Mack, Marie	18	12/26/1897
Malone, Mary	60	6/12/1901
Mansfield, Bridget	14	8/11/1890
Marphy?, Frank	15	6/15/1902
Marshall, Lizzie	75	4/20/1927
Martin, Mary J.	6 months	11/22/1893
Martin, Nehemiah	82	9/15/1904
Martin, Robert Louis	5 months	7/5/1885
Martin, Teresa	27	11/2/1916
Matchell, Martha	76	1/25/1904
Mathews, Mrs.	60	4/?/1886
Matterson, Mary	64	1/26/1918
Matthews, Louis	2	1/21/1888

Matthews, Peter	6	10/21/1887
Mauri, Sanuel	70	2/8/1922
McBlair, George Francis	32	1/27/1913
McBlair, Josephine (Mrs.)	?	4/30/1930
McCall, Rachel	55	3/18/1917
McClarence, Ann	25?	8/26/1883
McClarence, James	70?	7/8/1884
McCormick, George	63	9/4/1927
McGowan, Sarah	?	12/26/1928
McKelvy, John	29	2/18/1925
McKinney, Bartlett	37	5/5/1898
McKinney, Henry	29	9/22/1910
McNeil, Modestine	10 months	12/16/1890
Melfi, ?	6	12/21/1896
Melfi, Emil	65	1/2/1930
Melfi, Mrs.	35	1/30/1895
Melfi, Phoebe	77	1/4/1899
Melvin, Mr.	?	?/?/1924
Memms, Francis	?	12/29/1925
Meusing, Abigail	38	7/23/1897
Meyers, Mary M.	adult	8/14/1908
Michell, Edward	?	4/19/1888
Michell, James	30	11/13/1892
Middleton, E. Andrew	5 months	5/11/1908
Middleton, Eliza	81	8/4/1914
Middleton, Joseph	?	5/11/1925
Middleton, Joseph	6 months	3/4/1917
Middleton, Leah	79	3/21/1900
Middleton, M.	6 days	7/23/1898

Middleton, Thomas	46	2/22/1898
Middleton, William	2	7/25/1912
Mikell, ?	1 day	11/6/1885
Miller, C. (Miss)	50	11/30/1894
Miller, Josephine	adult	12/13/1891
Miller, Josephine	2	9/23/1884
Millers, Celestine	68	10/21/1883
Mitchell, J. (Mr.)	35	2/25/1896
Monde, Annie Louisa	2	11/2/1889
Moran, Addie	?	12/11/1902
Morley, John E.	38	8/28/1927
Moultrie, Mary Beulah	3	11/22/1888
Myer, Susan	61	9/7/1923
Myers, Irene Ophelia	infant	6/29/1891
Nabor, Modestine	86	12/12/1905
Nesbit, (baby of Joe)	infant	7/3/1887
Nesbitt, Catherine	adult	7/2/1891
Nesbitt, Genevieve	infant	6/28/1891
Neville, Belle	adult	11/27/1888
No Name (137 Calhoun St.)	?	7/6/1887
Noisette, Estelle	adult	7/7/1907
Noisette, Joseph	adult	7/5/1905
Noisette, Paul	9 days	11/22/1883
Noisette, Philip	66	2/4/1903
Noisette, Thomas	37	4/5/1885
O'Gier, Uranie (Mrs.)	80	9/28/1898
Osbourne, James	55	5/21/1917
Pascal, Henry	adult	5/23/1888
Pemer?, Bryan	43	12/18/1883

Pencile, Joseph	73	1/17/1899
Pencile, Josephine	55	6/14/1885
Permond, Mary	53	3/26/1893
Perrineaux, John F.	50?	11/1/1890
Perronneau, Esteelle	79	12/9/1929
Perry, Annita	adult	11/12/1906
Pezant, Henry M.	1	1/28/1909
Pezant, Henry Edward	1.5	2/8/1915
Pezant, William	4 months	6/28/1911
Pinckney, Peter	adult	2/26/1892
Pogne, Mrs.	60	5/27/1896
Powers, Edward Oliver	26	4/29/1919
Poyas, ?	72	5/7/1901
Poyas, Mr.	?	8/?/1901
Poys, ?	65	8/?/1895
Purcell, Elizabeth	adult	2/27/1890
Querry, Francis	Adult	1/23/1887
Richardson, Martha	adult	11/9/1910
Richardson, Rosa E.	infant	2/9/1891
Rivers, Paul	21	10/15/1918
Roach, Genevies	infant	5/17/1891
Roberts, Elizabeth (Mrs.)	29	2/25/1894
Robertson, Eliza	52	6/27/1904
Robinson, Hariett	14	12/27/1913
Robinson, Julius	infant	1/21/1890
Robinson, Peter	15 days	3/19/1893
Rose, Georgeanna	1 month	7/19/1891
Rutledge, Julia	48	3/11/1915
Sanders, ?	?	?/?/1924

Sanders, Mary	adult	11/21/1907
Saunders, Frank	adult	12/14/1890
Schroeder, Blanche (Mrs.)	45	12/18/1910
Scott, Henry	adult	7/23/1889
Scott, Laura	30	5/6/1911
Scott, Richard	?	10/7/1892
Simmons, Charlotte	adult	8/11/1888
Simmons, Willie	2.25	11/13/1884
Singleton, Mary	40?	8/2/1886
Singleton, Olive	1	12/13/1915
Singleton, Rebecca	31	8/31/1904
Singleton, William, Jr.	1 day	7/21/1915
Singleton, J.	3 days	12/7/1895
Smith, Abraham?	?	8/3/1883
Smith, Agnes	3	3/19/1894
Smith, Agnes	7	9/2/1920
Smith, Caspian	?	2/25/1902
Smith, Catherine	35	10/8/1886
Smith, Charles	44	7/12/1899
Smith, Christiana	52	2/19/1913
Smith, Cleo	6 months	7/8/1904
Smith, Daniel	5.5	12/3/1886
Smith, Edward	38	2/20/1914
Smith, Elizabeth	70	10/31/1893
Smith, Glory	13	12/27/1892
Smith, Margaret	infant	1/21/1890
Smith, Mary T. (Mrs.)	70	7/9/1901
Smith, Mary A.	adult	1/23/1911
Smith, Moses	77	4/11/1917



Smith, Mrs.	adult	5/25/1902
Smith, Samuel	infant	6/29/1889
Sognel, Mary	12	9/17/1885
Spearing, Philliys	9 days	11/22/1883
Spencer, Eleanor	70	1/25/1903
Spencer, Joseph I.	42	7/9/1899
St. Mark, Francis	6 months	4/28/1916
Stewart, Mary J. (Mrs.)	71	10/29/1898
Stokien, Catherine	adult	3/10/1909
Stout, Lawrence	32	2/8/1922
Stuart, Peter	70	6/8/1893
Sullivan, Catherine	15	8/21/1896
Sullivan, Eloise Modesine	26 months	7/17/1889
Sullivan, Henry	adult	4/26/1888
Sullivan, Joseph	infant	8/23/1888
Sullivan, Marcelline	13	8/25/1896
Sullivan, Thomas	9	2/14/1890
Sumner, M. (Miss)	80	12/?/1895
Taylor, Celestine	2 weeks	2/18/1915
Taylor, Edward	infant	8/27/1899
Taylor, Margaret	2 weeks	12/15/1915
Taylor, Rebecca	78	2/13/1899
Taylor, S.B.	4 months	3/21/1894
Taylor, William	4 months	7/14/1917
Teauhey, Caroline	42	7/17/1884
Thompson, Julia	adult	6/26/1907
Thompson, Mary	80	12/7/1920
Thompson, Thomas	adult	5/9/1914
Tompson, Irma	70	9/7/1895

Touhey, Robert	?	9/19/1904
Traine, Francis	39	8/4/1923
Trott, Richard	35	10/7/1892
Vane, Mary	71	9/7/1892
Wallace, ?	70	9/?/1895
Walters, Delia	?	3/18/1888
Washington, Anna	?	7/?/1899
Washington, Betsy	60	12/5/1884
Washington, Lawrence H.	1.5	4/6/1884
Watkins, E. (Miss)	21	11/?/1895
Watkins, Joseph	42	7/7/1902
Watkins, Susan	adult	9/6/1908
Weeks, Mary Francis	7	7/10/1892
Wells, Mrs.	80	2/1/1905
Weston, Anthony	1	6/29/1901
Weston, Eocadie	adult	12/6/1891
Weston, Gabriel	7 days	8/27/1890
Weston, Mary Magdaline	infant	4/24/1888
Weston, Thomas W.	61	8/17/1915
Whipple, James	69	9/18/1897
Whiteing, Charles	38	12/17/1893
Whiting, Mary	80	1/28/1904
Whiting, Sarah	Adult	5/12/1887
Williams, Alexini	?	1/17/1902
Williams, Annie	adult	10/13/1889
Williams, Clotilde	78	10/8/1912
Williams, Emma	?	9/9/1893
Williams, George	infant	2/3/1890
Williams, John	infant	2/27/1890

Williams, Marion	60	1/29/1913
Williams, Theresa	adult	7/29/1910
Wilsell, Archie	23	3/28/1921
Wilson, Caroline	35	6/8/1885
Wilson, John	70	4/6/1901
Wright, Harriet	?	9/11/1923
Young, Walter	26	1/3/1922

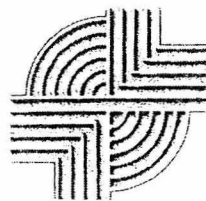
**Cemetery Preservation Plans**

**Historical Research**

**Identification of Grave Locations  
and Mapping**

**Condition Assessments**

**Treatment of Stone and Ironwork**



**Chicora Foundation, Inc.**  
PO Box 8664 • 861 Arbutus Drive  
Columbia, SC 29202-8664  
Tel: 803-787-6910  
Fax: 803-787-6910  
[www.chicora.org](http://www.chicora.org)